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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XXIII—1629-1630

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PREFACE

The present volume contains but few documents relating to current affairs in 1629-30, the greater part of its space being occupied with the Augustinian Medina's history of his order in the Philippines to 1630; but the annual reports of the governor present an interesting view of the colony's affairs at that time. As usual, the colonial treasury is but slenderly provided with the funds necessary for carrying on the government, and Tavora proposes expedients for obtaining these, and for utilizing hitherto neglected resources of the country. He has to contend with hostility on the part of the royal officials, and apathy in Mexico as to the welfare of the far western colony dependent on it. The southern Malays are hostile, but thus far have been held in check; and threatened hostilities with Japan have been averted. Medina's history is of course largely religious; but it contains considerable mention of secular events and of social and economic conditions. The length of this work obliges us to synopsize such matter as is of secondary importance, and to conclude our translation of it in VOL. XXIV.

A royal decree (April 6, 1629) commands the provincials of the religious orders in the Spanish colonies to heed the rights of the royal patronage in making

or changing appointments to mission posts. The leading Dominican officials in Manila write (May 12, 1629) to the king, informing him that the country is in a ruinous condition from the piracies of the Dutch, which have also broken up the trade of the islands. They ask certain favors from the king, and are sending an envoy to Madrid to discuss their affairs with him.

The annual reports of Governor Tavora (dated August 1, 1629) include many important matters. As usual, he is embarrassed by lack of funds; little has been received from Nueva España, and the revenues of the islands are greatly diminished by the decline in trade. He is endeavoring to secure what cloves he can from the Moluccas, and advises that this product be bartered in India, on the royal account, for supplies needed for the royal magazines in Manila, which can be done on highly profitable terms. Tavora minimizes the possible danger to these cargoes from the Dutch enemy at Singapore, and asks that he be allowed to send cloves thus to India, at such times as he can collect a sufficient quantity for this purpose; and that in this matter the treasury officials be not allowed to interfere. He also proposes that the rations of rice allotted by the government to its workmen be provided by letting Chinese farmers cultivate certain unused crown lands; he has even begun to plan for this undertaking. Tavora recounts certain difficulties that he has experienced in dealing with the treasury officials at Manila, and asks for the royal decision. In this connection, he remarks: "The offices in the Yndias are not worth anything unless one steals." To this letter are appended the decisions made by the royal

fiscal in Spain. He refers to the royal councils the proposal to trade cloves in India; approves the farming of crown lands, but is uncertain whether the Mexican treasury can provide the additional contribution thus made necessary; advises thorough inspection of the accounts of the probate treasury, and strict prohibition of the use of those funds by the governors; objects to accepting pay-warrants in place of cash; and states that the removal of minor officials in the treasury, and the fees paid to them, are matters which should be investigated. A later opinion by the fiscal is to the effect that those minor officials be removed and appointed, as hitherto, by the treasury officials, not by the governor.

Another letter from Tavora, of the same date, deals with various matters of administration, relations with other nations, etc. He again deplores the late arrival of the ships from Nueva España, and urges that they be sent thence earlier in the season. He has not waited for them in sending the vessels to Acapulco; and the latter carry but small cargoes, owing to the unusual lack of Chinese goods in Manila this year. The citizens desire to send a committee of their number to Mexico to conduct their trade, in order to thwart the supposed unfriendly schemes of the Mexican merchants; but the governor deprecates this proceeding, as dangerous to the best interests of the islands. It is favored by an old royal decree, which he is putting into execution; but he considers this so inexpedient that he asks the royal Council to decide the case. He deprecates the forced loans that the governors make from the inhabitants, and urges that this be prevented by having more aid sent from Nueva España. The governor is endeavoring to have

ships built in India, Camboja, and Cochinchina, to relieve the islands from this burden; he has a prospect of success in these efforts. The king of Siam who withheld the property of Spaniards is dead; and his son, in fear of Spanish arms, seeks friendly relations with Manila. Tavora has endeavored to restore trade with Japan, and has sent an embassy thither to make amends for burning the Japanese junk off Siam. Regarding that affair, a sharp controversy has arisen between Manila and Macan, which is referred to the home government. Don Fernando de Silva has left the islands, not without certain difficulties concerning bonds for his residencia, involving the governor's right of jurisdiction – which Tavora settles by the decision of common sense. The bridge across the Pasig is nearly completed, and the cost of it has been met from the general fund of the Chinese residents, as has also the support of the hospital for their use. On the arrival of the ships from Nueva España, the governor is disappointed at receiving so little from the viceroy, and implores the king for more reliable and permanent aid for the islands. He is sending artillery to Mexico. To this letter are appended a report of proceedings in the council convened to discuss relations with Japan, and various official acts regarding Fernando de Silva's departure from the islands.

The Jesuit annalist for 1629-30 relates various affairs of war. An expedition is sent against Jolo; but, their commander being wounded in an attack, the Spaniards are seized with a panic, and retreat without accomplishing much. The Malays of Achen attack Malacca, and besiege it during four months; then help arrives opportunely, in an expedition headed by

the viceroy of India. The enemy are finally defeated, with loss of all their ships and artillery, and practically all their men killed or captured. Soon afterward the viceroy is accidentally drowned, which puts an end to his plans of conquest. The missionaries in Cochinchina are persecuted by superstitious natives.

The more important events in the colony's affairs for 1630 are related in Tavora's letters (July 30 and August 4). The Japanese are still angry at the burning of their junk by the Spaniards, and talk of attacking the latter in both Formosa and Luzón; accordingly, Tavora has greatly strengthened the fortifications of Manila. He has sent the usual relief to Ternate, but finds hostile Dutch ships there, and more reported as not far away. He mentions the siege of Malaca, and other exploits of the Portuguese; also the unsuccessful expedition to Jolo. Affairs in Cagayan are improving, and more of the revolted Indians are being subdued. In the second letter Tavora recounts his difficulties with the auditors, who are sending secret despatches to Spain, commanding the royal officials to pay their salaries regardless of the governor's orders, endeavoring to rule the Chinese, interfering in matters which do not concern them, and complaining against the governor's acts and plans. Tavora recounts these matters in detail, defending himself against the accusations made by the auditors, and stating his services to the crown. At the end, he asks permission to resign his post as governor.

The *Historia* of Fray Juan de Medina, O.S.A., was written in 1630, but printed at Manila in 1893. He records the history of his order in the Philippines up to 1630, adding much interesting information regarding secular affairs and the condition of the

islands and their people. He begins with a résumé of the discovery and early history of the archipelago – in the former of which, it will be remembered, the Augustinian Urdaneta was so prominent. Legazpi's voyage, and his encounters with the natives, are related at length. Medina describes the island of Cebú (where the Spaniards first halted), and its economic and religious condition at the time of his writing. He adds some information regarding Panay, Negros, and other adjacent islands; then, resuming his narration, describes the founding by Legazpi of a city in Cebú, and the pacification of the natives. This is at first a most difficult and vexatious matter, as the natives are faithless to their promises; but they are finally won over by a chief whose wife, captured by the Spaniards, is well treated and restored to him. In the midst of this account Medina injects another, relating how Urdaneta, sent home by Legazpi with despatches, discovers the return route from the Philippines to Nueva España; and recounting subsequent events in the lives of Urdaneta and his companion Aguirre. Friendship with the natives of Cebú having been established, the Augustinians there begin to labor in the conversion of the Indians, and a considerable number of baptisms are conferred. The infant colony is attacked (at the instigation of the devil) by the Portuguese, but they are obliged to depart without harming it. The missions thrive apace, and extend to neighboring islands; and Fray Diego de Herrera goes to Spain to obtain more laborers for this so promising field. Returning, he brings tokens of the royal favor to both the missionaries and Legazpi. That officer concludes to remove his seat of government to Luzón, especially to secure the valu-

able Chinese trade, of which Medina gives some account – not failing to reiterate the stereotyped complaint that all the silver is being carried to China.

Medina describes with enthusiasm the magnificent bay of Manila, where the Spaniards enter Luzón; and relates the dealings of the invaders with the Moros, who are, as usual, perfidious and unreliable. After a time, however, they are reduced to obedience, largely through the efforts of the religious who accompany Legazpi. The Augustinians have a large and handsome convent in Manila, which is described. The organization of their province of Filipinas is accomplished *pro tempore* in 1572, and Diego de Herrera is sent to Spain to secure their independence and procure more missionaries.

Medina recounts the convents and churches founded in succession by his order, with some account of the lakes Bombon and Bay, and of the communities about them. Speaking of the hospitals, he highly commends the Franciscans who have them in charge. He describes the region watered by the Pasig River, and the Augustinian convents therein; and continues his account, in like manner, for Panay and the other islands in which that order has its missions – throughout furnishing much valuable, although desultory, information regarding social and economic conditions.

Recurring to affairs at Manila, he recounts the beginning and growth of the Chinese trade there, and the unsuccessful attempts of the early Augustinians to open a mission in China. Legazpi's death (1572) is a grief and loss to that order. The people of Mindoro, hearing of Limahon's attack on Manila, rebel, and threaten to kill the missionaries there; but afterward

they release the fathers. The Moros at Manila also revolt, but are finally pacified.

Various new Augustinians arrive at Manila in 1574 and 1575; but a great loss befalls them in the following year, in the death of Fray Diego de Herrera and ten missionaries whom he was bringing to the islands, their ship being wrecked when near Manila. The Augustinians, seeing their inability to cultivate so great a mission-field, invite other orders to come to their aid. Accordingly, the discalced Franciscans arrive in the islands in 1577, the Jesuits in 1580, the Dominicans in 1581. Medina enumerates the missions and colleges conducted by the latter orders, at the same time warmly commending their educational work and their pious zeal. The Dominicans are in charge of the Sangleys, of whose sharp dealings with the Spaniards Medina complains. Among the mission-fields ceded to the Dominicans by the Augustinians are the provinces of Pangasinán and Cagayan; in the latter, the natives frequently revolt against the Spaniards.

Medina extols the magnificence of the churches in Manila, and the liberality displayed by the faithful in adorning them. This is noted by foreigners who come to the city, notably the Japanese. The converts of that nation have witnessed nobly their zeal and holy devotion, for more than nine hundred have been martyred in Japan for the truth. In 1575, two Augustinians go to China with letters from the governor of the Philippines, hoping to begin a mission in that country. In this attempt they are not successful, but they return with much information regarding China, which until then had been mainly a *terra incognita*.

The city of Manila has made steady progress, and

the religious orders are erecting stone buildings for their convents. At first, they had built their houses of wood, in the native style, which is described by our writer. Many houses, both within and without the city, are now built of stone; but the health of the city is not as good as when the people lived in wooden houses.

In 1578 Fray Agustín de Alburquerque is elected provincial, and at once begins to extend the missions of his order – especially in Pampanga, of which province some description is given. This province, once so populous, has lost many of its men by conscription for the Spanish forts, being sent away even to Maluco. It is often raided by the head-hunting tribes of the interior – something which cannot be checked, especially on account of the heedlessness and lack of foresight inherent in the character of the Indians. They are lazy, deficient in public spirit, and have no initiative; what they accomplish is only under the vigilance and urging of the missionary or the alcalde-mayor. The Panay convent is near the Spanish fort at Arevalo, and the fathers have the privilege of treatment by the surgeon there – "who, without being able to distinguish his right hand, bleeds and purges, so that in a brief time the sick man is laid in his grave." The creoles of Nueva España die early, and "do not reach their majority."

In 1581, Fray Andrés de Aguirre is elected provincial of Filipinas: his many virtues and achievements are extolled by our writer. Medina here takes occasion to advocate the policy of gathering the Indians into reductions and there teaching them the civilized ways of Europeans. He makes interesting observations on the character and temperament of the na-

tives; and complains of the opposition encountered by the missionaries from the Spaniards, "by whose hands the devil wages warfare against the ministry; consequently the religious tire themselves out, and the devil reaps what harvest he wills." But the Spaniards oppress the Indians; and, "if it were not for the protection of the religious, there would not now be an Indian, or any settlement." Moreover, it is the religious who are taming those wild peoples, and reducing them to subjection to the Spanish crown. All these points are illustrated by anecdotes and citations from actual experience. Under Aguirre's rule as provincial, some extensions of missions are made. Among these is Bantayan – since that time abandoned by the Augustinians, as Medina records, and almost depopulated by the raids of Moro pirates. An attempt is made to remove its inhabitants to settlements in Cebú Island; but they refuse to leave their homes. Medina recounts numerous instances of cruel and oppressive treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards, and of insolence and opposition on the part of the latter to the missionaries and their work. With this, he also urges that the religious be allowed to inflict punishments upon the natives, when the latter are disobedient or commit misdeeds. In this argument Medina makes a curious admission, especially as he writes after missionaries had labored sixty-five years in the islands – saying of the Indians: "For they detest, as a rule, church matters – to such an extent, that they would even pay two tributes to be free from the church. They love their old beliefs and revelries so strongly that they would lose their souls for them. Without any fear, how would they attend to their duties?" The missionaries also desire to break up the

native habits of sloth and vagabondage, by compelling the Indians to live in villages; but many Spaniards oppose this policy. Medina recounts the difficulties between the friars and the ecclesiastical authorities, in Bishop Salazar's time, regarding the religious jurisdiction of the former.

Further extension of missions is made during the provincialate of Fray Diego de Álvarez (elected in 1584). Each district in which a mission is introduced or enlarged is described by our writer, who adds many pertinent and interesting observations on the natives and their character, their relations with the Spaniards, the affairs of his order, the progress of the colony, the products of the country, etc.

THE EDITORS

December, 1904.

DOCUMENTS OF 1629-1630

Decree regarding mission appointments in the Indias. Felipe IV; April 6, 1629.

Letter from Manila Dominicans to Felipe IV. Diego Duarte, and others; May 12, 1629.

Letters to Felipe IV. Juan Niño de Tavora; August 1, 1629.

Relation of 1629-30. [Unsigned; July, 1630.]

Letters to Felipe IV. Juan Niño de Tavora; July 30 and August 4, 1630.

SOURCES: Of these documents, the first is obtained from Pastells's edition of Colin's *Labor evangélica*, iii, p. 686; the fourth, from the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), i, pp. 617-625; and the remainder from MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.

TRANSLATIONS: All these documents are translated by James A. Robertson.

DECREE REGARDING MISSION APPOINTMENTS IN THE INDIAS

The King. Inasmuch as I have been informed that – notwithstanding that it has been ruled and decreed, in virtue of the prerogative of my royal patronage, that the provincials of the orders in my Western Indias, whenever they have to propose any religious for the instruction or for the administration of sacraments, or to remove him who should have been appointed, shall give notice thereof to my viceroy, president, Audiencia, or governor, who should have charge of the superior government of the province, and to the bishop; and that he who may have been already appointed be not removed until another has been appointed in his place – for some time past, the said provincials have been introducing the custom of dismissing and removing the religious teacher who is stationed at any mission, and appointing another in his place, solely on their own authority, without giving notice to the said viceroy, or the persons above mentioned, as they have done on various occasions. They also claim that if a religious is once approved by the bishop for a mission, he needs no further approbation for any other mission to which his provincial may transfer him. If the archbishops or bishops of the diocese

where such a thing occurs try to hinder it, the provincials base various lawsuits upon that point, whence follow many injurious and troublesome results. In order to obviate these, the matter having been discussed and considered by the members of my Council of the Indias, with their assent and advice I have deemed it advisable to ordain and order – as by the present I do ordain and order – that now and henceforth, in regard to the said provincials removing and appointing the religious of the said missions, they shall observe and obey what is ordained on that head by the said my royal patronage, according to what is mentioned in this my decree. They shall not violate or disobey it in any way; and in addition to it, whenever they shall have to appoint any religious to the said missions in their charge – whether because of the promotion of him who serves it, or by his death, or for any other reason – they shall nominate from among their religious those who shall appear most suitable for such mission, upon which their consciences are charged. This nomination shall be presented before my viceroy, president, or governor (or to the person who shall exercise the superior government, in my name, of the province where such mission shall be located), so that from the three nominated he may select one. This choice shall be sent to the archbishop or bishop of that diocese, so that the said archbishop or bishop may make the provision, collation, and canonical institution of such mission, in accordance with the choice and by virtue of such presentation. In regard to the pretension made by the said provincials, namely, that if a religious be once approved for a mission, it must be understood that that approbation

is to answer for all the other missions to which he may be appointed, I consider it advisable to declare — as I declare and order by the present — that the religious who shall have once been examined and approved by the bishop for a mission, remain examined and approved for all the other missions of the same language to which he shall be appointed afterward. But if the mission for which his provincial shall present him be of a different language, he must be examined and approved anew in it; and, until he shall be examined and approved, he cannot serve in the mission. I order my viceroys, presidents, and governors of each and every part of the said my Indias, to whom falls the execution of the said royal patronage; and I request and charge the very reverend and the reverend fathers in Christ, the archbishops and bishops of the Indias — each one of them in what concerns him — to observe and obey this my decree and its contents exactly and punctually, without permitting or allowing anything to be done contrary to or in violation of its contents, in any manner; and that they give notice to all the provincials of the said orders of this ordinance so that they may observe it. Given in Madrid, April six, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine.

I THE KING

By order of the king our sovereign:

DON FERNANDO RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

LETTER FROM MANILA DOMINICANS TO FELIPE IV

Sire:

Responding to our obligation, as religious of St. Dominic our father, and as vassals of your Majesty, to advise you of the condition of the lands of your seigniory, where we now reside in this country of the Philipinas and the city of Manila (where we are at present assembled in our provincial chapter and definitory), we say that this land is greatly afflicted because these seas are so infested with the Dutch. The trade with neighboring nations, which was formerly rich and supported this country, has lost its power. The result of the Dutch attacks is, that your vassals here have no sea forces, and but few for land; and those are widely scattered in various presidios of little importance, that serve no good purpose and cause very great expense to your royal treasury. At those presidios the soldiers die in great numbers from the unhealthful climate, insufficient and poor food, and their own inactivity and vicious lives. We believe that a small fleet for the sea could be maintained at a much smaller cost; that will sweep it of enemies, will keep the soldiers contented and in sufficient numbers (and if they are killed, it will be while performing their duty, and not for the above reasons); trade would return to its former condition, and all the injuries that daily befall this wretched country would cease.

Concerning the condition of our holy order, your officials will tell your Majesty, for they ought to inform you of everything that happens here. And although they are, as a rule, not very friendly to us, because our order is a friend to truth, we leave information of our affairs to be given through their statements. The report of our poverty will be given to your Majesty by our religious procurator of the province, who is at that court. We beseech your Majesty to hear, believe, and protect him, and despatch his affairs. The royal officials of Mexico, on account of the expense of these islands, which is made up from the treasury under their charge, send annually to our order, at the cost of your royal revenues, flour for the host, and two arrobas of wine for each priest, with orders that one and one-half arrobas are to be given here to each one, because of the waste on the voyage. Since we do not even see any dust from the flour, nor more than one arroba of the wine, in order to celebrate mass for a whole year, on account of which mass cannot be said, even on days of obligation, it is sufficient to propose it in this way, in order that we may expect the remedy as sure to follow from your Majesty, whose royal person may our Lord preserve for many years, as we all your vassals find necessary. From the city of Manila in the Filipinas Islands, May twelve, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine. Your Majesty's servants and chaplains,

FRAY DIEGO DUARTE, definitor.

FRAY JOAN LUIS DE GUETI, definitor.

FRAY GASPAR CASSABLANCA, definitor.

FRAY PEDRO MARTIN DE LUCENILLA, definitor.

[A copy of the last portion of the above letter re-

garding the flour and wine sent from Mexico follows, and is commented upon thus: "Decree of the Council. Referred to the fiscal, November 8, 1630." "The fiscal says that what is requested by this portion of the letter appears very just and advisable; and it will be right and expedient to give strict orders to the governor of Philipinas to be very careful to relieve these necessities, and not to allow them to be again represented to the Council. Madrid, February 8, 1631."]

LETTERS TO FELIPE IV FROM GOVERNOR TAVORA

TREASURY MATTERS

Sire:

The officials of the royal treasury will give your Majesty a detailed account of the condition of your treasury in these islands – which beyond all doubt is very pitiable, because of the smallness of the relief that has come these last few years from Nueva España, and the little profit that the islands themselves have produced, because of the great decrease in commerce. That obliges me to see what measures will be advisable to increase the revenues and decrease the expenses of this royal treasury. The other day, I proposed in a meeting of the treasury, of which I send a copy, what will be seen in that copy – for whose better understanding, and so that the advisability of the proposition may be seen in your royal Council, I thought it fitting to write this section.

First point of the letter

Your Majesty has ordered by many decrees that we try to obtain cloves from our present possessions in the Malucas, and that they be cultivated for your royal treasury. In accordance with that command –

although your Majesty's purpose had not been realized hitherto, either because the governors my predecessors were unable (which is the most certain thing), or they did not always have the cloves in the quantities necessary, or because of the corrupt agents who have been occupied in that business – I have now forty-five bars [*i.e.*, bahars] of cloves stored in the magazines; and I judge that an average of fifty bars per year (rather more than less) could be obtained without much difficulty. Considering the question of the cultivation and investment of that quantity, I think that by no other route can this be better accomplished, or with more gain to your royal treasury, than by way of Yndia. I base my assertion on the following argument. Fifty bars of cloves are worth four thousand pesos in Maluco. If they are traded for clothing such as the Moros wear, the cost will be one-half less. The carriage from Maluco to Manila is nothing, for they will be brought in the ships of the usual relief expedition to those forts. The fifty bars, delivered in this city, are worth already at least ten thousand pesos. Once laden for India, and carried at your Majesty's account in your own ship, they will be worth thirty-five thousand pesos and more when delivered in Goa or Cochin, as is affirmed by men experienced in this kind of merchandise. Your Majesty needs many things in your royal magazines which are brought from the above-named cities, such as saltpetre, iron, anchors, slaves for the galleys, arms, biscuits, *cayro*, white cloth, and wearing apparel for convicts. Those articles are bought every year in Manila from merchants of Yndia, at excessive rates. The thirty-five thousand pesos resulting from the cloves having been

invested, then, in those articles at Goa or Cochin, and having been brought to Manila on your Majesty's account and investment, will be worth at the figures now paid for the said articles, ninety or one hundred thousand pesos. And even if all this did not rise to so high prices, I am sure that fifty thousand pesos (which is one-half less than one might consider them to be worth) will be the return in products to these magazines from the fifty bars, which will cost four thousand pesos in money at first cost, as I have said – and if they be bought for the peculiar cloth of Yndia, two thousand pesos. That would be a very considerable gain and relief to the royal treasury.[1] [*In the margin*: "Consult with his Majesty as to what the governor proposes; and say that it has been judged best, before advising what we think of it, to refer the matter to his Majesty, so that he may order the council of Portugal to state their opinion regarding the matter. Having examined it from all points of view, an opinion will be given."][2]

The expenses of that voyage will not amount to much, considering the profit and gain. The expenses for this gain are as follows: One ship or patache of one hundred and fifty Castilian toneladas, which, if built in these islands, will cost, when ready to sail, ten or twelve thousand pesos; eight pieces of bronze artillery, using balls of twelve and eight libras, which will be worth five thousand pesos; twenty-five sailors and a like number of musketeers, with six artillerymen, taken from those who receive the usual pay of

[1] See VOL. XXII, p. 128.

[2] See, *post*, the statements of the fiscal at Madrid regarding the various points of this letter. His examination was made and his opinions noted before the decrees of the Council were given.

this camp and beach – all married men and under such obligations that they cannot remain in Yndia, and who when embarked will only receive an increase in their rations of biscuit, meat, and fish, and some native wine, all of which amounts to but little; one captain for the management of the vessel, and master, pilots, boatswains, keeper of the arms [*guardian*], and steward – who are the officers to whom pay is assigned. The above, with all the other purchase expenses which I have given above for this ship, will not amount for the first time to twenty thousand pesos, together with the four thousand for the value of the cloves, the total amounting to twenty-four thousand, more or less. By this method, the so great profits for this treasury will be made, as above stated – adding the sum received from the freight charges for goods belonging to private persons, which can be brought and carried by this ship, and the register and the duties on them, which will here amount to considerable, and will prove of great relief for the said expenses.

The danger of this voyage is that of meeting the Dutch at the passage through the strait of Sincapura, near Malaca, which every year the Dutch inhabitants of Jacatra belonging to the Company [3] close up,

[3] Referring to the Dutch East India Company, formed by the consolidation (1602) of the various trading companies in the Orient, by the States-General of Holland. This was for many years one of the richest and most successful of the world's great commercial associations; but in the eighteenth century its condition became one of decline. When Holland and Belgium were conquered by France, in 1795, the Dutch East India Company was practically abolished. Thereafter, until 1808, the Dutch Indias were administered by a committee of the States-General, and in the latter year their government was formally vested in the Dutch nation, which has from that time retained it.

and with a ship or two of little strength, or a couple of pataches, await the Portuguese galliots that sail from Macan to Yndia, and from Yndia to this city. The enemy knows very well that the Portuguese do not carry force enough to fight, and that on seeing the Dutch they run ashore and place their persons in safety with their gold, which is the form in which they chiefly invest their wealth. The ship which would sail from here would enter by a different channel than do the Portuguese, as the strait has three entrances. Our ship will be a swifter one, and will sail better against the wind; and a Dutch ship will not be able to catch it in two rosaries, and their pataches will not dare to grapple it because of the defense which they will encounter. Thus by fighting, without losing their route, the ship will reach Malaca, and will make its voyage. On its return, it will stop first at Malaca, where it will hear news of the enemy. In case they find that the enemy are in the pass, they can wait in those forts until the former have retired to their own fort at Jacatra.

Thus far, I have mentioned all the advantages, expenses, and dangers. What still remains is to petition your Majesty to be pleased to have this matter considered; and if it appear advisable, to order that this voyage be made every year or every two years, as the governor shall deem best, and according to the quantity of cloves on hand and the opportunity offered by the weather. I petition that there shall be, in this regard, no opposition from the treasury council, in which, I have understood, your Majesty has ordered that the governor concur in the opinion of the majority. That may prove, in this country, to be a source of considerable trouble; for it might some

day happen that an expedition would be determined to be necessary, in a council of war, and that the majority of the votes of the treasury council in which the expenses are voted may not concur, either through want of capacity in the officials, or through an excess of passion and private interest – and, in a land so remote, experience teaches that there are many such. In the report of the meeting that I enclose herewith, in regard to the above matter of the cloves, I guessed what were the majority of the opinions beforehand: Doctor Don Albaro de Mesa y Lugo, neutral or indecisive as he is on all questions of any importance or difficulty, and especially on those regarding revenue, for fear lest the auditors be obliged to pay. Licentiate Geronimo de Legaspi, senior auditor at the time of the council, not satisfied because I have employed his elder son in a company, tried to have a place given to the second son also, in another one. Because what he asked was not done, although I desired to please him, he was displeased. The accountant, Marten Ruiz de Salazar, has for a long time been offended, because he was not allowed to take fees from the clerks of the accountancy, and to exercise absolute authority over accepting and dismissing them, as in the present case. Hence my proposition was disliked by them both. Thus may your Majesty see carried out in this case the same motive that I stated for all the others – namely, that they do not vote without self-interest or passion. He to whom your Majesty can and ought to trust most is the person to whom all the government shall have been charged; and he should be given authority so that he may, after having heard the opinions of the treasury council, concur with the

party which may seem to him more judicious, even though it be not the one with the more votes. [*In the margin*: "Have the fiscal see this again." "The fiscal declares that the form is laid down by the decrees and ordinances which treat of it, and he thinks it undesirable to make any innovation. For even though there happen to be some officials, of those who take part in those meetings, who are such as here described, it might also happen that there would be rash governors who might act inconsiderately, and only through self-will or caprice, and cause great and excessive expenses of the royal revenues. Consequently, it is preferable that action be taken by many votes, since in justifiable and even in doubtful cases the preference of him who governs or presides is always followed. Madrid, July 11, 1631." "Let the ordinance be kept."]

In case that your Majesty consider it fitting to have this voyage made in the aforesaid manner, it will be necessary for the decrees to come in duplicate for the viceroy of Yndia, so that he may grant free passage for this ship, and that he may give without any opposition the wares that will have to be bought on your Majesty's account; and so that no duties be imposed in Goa, Malaca, or any other part of Yndia, on what may be registered in your Majesty's name. Order must also be sent to Cochin, so that if any ship should have to be built there (as the ships cost less there, and last longer than those of these islands) all assistance and favor may be extended.

Point 2 of the letter

The second point discussed in the council is also essential; and if it be carried out, it will be the great-

est relief to the islands, and will result in great saving for your Majesty. In the rations of rice (which is the bread of this country) which are furnished in Cavite and other parts, more than fifty thousand fanegas are consumed annually. This is imposed on the Indian natives by assessment or allotment,[4] and is paid at the rate of a peso per fanega. For the last three years the Chinese, both infidels and Christians, have devoted their efforts to sowing rice. Consequently, the country has been well supplied, as the Chinese are better farmers than the Indians. Many citizens and the convents of the religious orders have given them the loan of lands and twenty-five pesos per head, so that they might settle and equip themselves with the necessary implements for farming the land. The first year the Chinaman pays this sum, and the following years gives for every hundred brazas of land fifteen or twenty pesos rent, which is a like number of fanegas of rice. It has seemed to me expedient that in certain uncultivated lands that rightly remain in the name of your Majesty in the best region and lands of the islands (which is near here, in La Laguna de [Bay], five leguas up the river from Manila), two pieces of land should be appropriated [for this purpose]. I am assured that these will be sufficient so that two thousand Sangleys can be established on them; and that your Majesty will make the profit which the inhabitants and the religious make, since you can do so with greater advantage and protection to the farmers than private per-

[4] Spanish *vandala*: a Filipino word, signifying a forcible assessment on the natives for government supplies – *i.e.*, a repartimiento; see explanation in Retana's *Zúñiga*, ii, p. 532*. For later and different use of the word, see Zúñiga's text (*ut supra*), i, p. 325.

sons can give. I am also assured that a very productive agricultural estate can be made, by managing to obtain from it the cost in one or two years. For the rest of the time the rent is left free [from debt or other obligation]. For two thousand Sangleys that will amount to forty thousand fanegas of rice; and, as it increases with time, it will amount to fifty thousand. That is as much as these magazines need. [*In the margin*: "Let us be informed whether any of the expenses of those islands have been reduced." "Bring the memorandum of the reduction that was made in the year 618."]

The gain that will accrue to your Majesty from that will be to relieve your Majesty from the expense of fifty thousand pesos, and the Indian natives from the assessment and allotment of fifty thousand fanegas, which, as aforesaid, is the greatest relief for the islands, and for this royal treasury. The risk that will be run of the money that will be advanced to the Chinese so that they may settle and equip their farms (in which, although it is given with confidence, there is, of course, always some risk that some will run away and others will die), will all, however, be of little importance, in view of the profits that are seen to result in the estates which the religious and inhabitants are equipping.

It would be advisable for your Majesty to decree this to be carried out without any opposition; and that you order the viceroy of Nueva España, in order to facilitate it, to send five thousand pesos separately, and in addition [to the usual situado] in order that I may continue with capital what has been begun without it and (with what I have lent to the treasury from my own funds) make the experiment and take

possession of the lands, ordering wheat to be sowed in a portion of them. I am told that it has been shown by experience that wheat bears well. This undertaking can not be accomplished in one or two years. Your Majesty holds these islands for many years through the Divine favor, and your successors as long as the world shall last. Consequently, the future must be considered, in order that these lands may not remain behind; but if this be done in all parts, in what pertains to your Majesty's revenues, the treasury will not remain in so backward a condition as at present.

Third point of the letter

Your Majesty's royal treasury owes to that of the goods of deceased persons more than forty thousand pesos, as appears from the memorandum and certification which I enclose herewith. For since the relief which is sent from Nueva España is so meager, and the expenses here are so great, the governors my predecessors were obliged to take, by way of loan, all that sum on different occasions. For the same reason I have not been able during my term, to repay it, nor do I hope to be able to do so, unless your Majesty order that sum to be sent from or paid in Nueva España on a separate account, in consideration of the fact that it is property of parties who are suffering, and, most of all, the goods of deceased persons. I give this information to your Majesty, as to the master and sovereign of it, and for the relief of my conscience.

Fourth point of the letter

The office of the notary of government and war

which became vacant by the death of Captain Pedro Alvarez, was put at auction and adjudged to the heaviest bidder, who was Pedro de Heredia, governor of Terrenate. He bought it and placed it under charge of one of his sons. It was knocked down for the value of fifty-four thousand pesos – ten thousand to be paid on the spot, in reals, another ten thousand from his pay, and the thirty-four thousand remaining in the pay-warrants of various persons. It seems to have been a sale of importance for the services of your Majesty. And in order to avoid the suits which the secretaries of government have had with the governors my predecessors, as to whether that office should include the secretaryship of the permits to the Sangleys and the inspection of the Chinese ships (which are special commissions of the governor), and in order to avoid suits with my successors, I ordered that in the sale of that office it be made a condition that no more than the office of government secretary be sold; and that this was understood to be only what the governor should sign in writing; for in the commissions that the latter should give for those permits the secretary of the government was not to act as secretary. [*In the margin*: "As the fiscal says."]

The above is what occurs to me in regard to the increase and efficient administration of your royal treasury. I shall now declare my opinion regarding two differences of justice or jurisdiction that have arisen with the royal officials.

Fifth point of this letter

They formerly proposed the clerks whom they employed in their offices, so that the governor should

appoint them at the pay that was assigned. In consequence of that power that they possessed, the accountant tried to take it upon himself to dismiss a clerk without any agreement with his associates, or the consent of the government. In fact, he abolished the position. I was informed that it was not for incompetency, or for any failure of which the clerk had been guilty in his office, but only for the accountant's own private reasons. He was ordered to return the man to his place, and to have him serve as before. The accountant alleged with too unmeasured language that he and his associates had the authority to dismiss the clerks, since they were the ones who proposed them. I was advised that it would be better government, in order to avoid the consequences, for the royal officials not to propose the clerks whom they had to employ in their offices, except in the memorial of the person who enters it, petitioning that they give information of his competency. Accordingly, I so provided; and therefore, so long as the clerks give satisfaction, it must not be understood that the royal officials can dismiss them without having information of demerits understood by the government – which is the agency to dismiss such men, as it was the one to hire them. [*In the margin*: "Ascertain what the royal officials write; and, if they have not written, let them report." "Search was made, and all the papers on the matter collected, together with those sections and letters which the royal officials have written."]

[*Sixth point of this letter*]

The accountant has also claimed the right to collect certain fees which this royal Audiencia assigned

some years ago, by a sentence of examination and review, as a tariff to the clerks of the accountancy, the factor's office, and the treasury. The accountant lately renewed the suit, and declared in this Audiencia the one which I have resolved to send to your royal Council with the evidence. The matter is one of moment, for the clerks who serve carry the weight of the work of the accountancy; and as they cannot be maintained with the fees of the tariff, they charge additional fees, which parties give them in order to facilitate their business. Nor is it possible for the governors to avoid that; for it is a matter of importance to the parties themselves to conceal it, for the sake of their business. If the accountant tries to take those fees from them, the clerks will have a much greater reason to accept bribes; else they will not expedite the business, or reduce the great volume of accounts and business that are pending in this accountancy. Even the commencement of this suit has caused great trouble, and the clerks have been much disturbed by it. Will your Majesty be pleased to order the suit to be concluded, and the decision that is most expedient to be made. [*In the margin*: "Look up the papers regarding this matter; let it be as the fiscal says." "These sections were collected with the papers which treat of this matter."]

What is to be said is that the accountant and treasurer are very poor; and that the offices in the Yndias are not worth anything unless one steals, and they do not do that. The expenses of their households and families have been excessive in this city for some little time past, and consequently, those ministers cannot live decently on their pay. If there is any means to increase it, will your Majesty order that inquiry

be made in what way this can be done without the royal officials taking away the perquisites from their clerks. May God preserve the Catholic royal person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom. Cavite, August first, 1629. Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

[*Addressed*: "To his Majesty. Cavite, 1629."]

[*Endorsed*: "Governor Don Juan Niño de Tavora. Treasury. Seen and decreed in the margin, July 11. Take it to the fiscal. In the Council, November 23, 630."]

[*The findings of the fiscal*]

1. The fiscal says that he has read this letter. In regard to the first point, concerning the ship which is to take the cloves, he thinks that if affairs move with the security and ease which the governor ascribes to them, the profit is a matter of considerable moment, and that the governor should be ordered to undertake it. But, inasmuch as many things enter into that question which pertain to the Council of War, he requests that the matter be examined and discussed by them before any resolution be taken. He also thinks that it will be necessary that a copy of what concerns the Council of Portugal be given that body, on account of the relations which the execution of this measure have and may have with Goa, Malaca, and other points of Eastern Yndia which fall within the demarcation of the said Council.

2. In regard to the second point, concerning the cultivation of the land, he thinks that it ought to be accepted; for the amount of money risked is little, and will be spent to establish a known gain. He only

stops to consider that, in order to carry out this measure and the preceding one, the governor requests further increase in the situado which is generally given from Mexico to those islands; and he does not know whether the royal treasury of that city is at present able to furnish that increase, because of the loss which his Majesty's incomes have sustained from the inundation [5] and other troubles which have come upon them, and the heavy burdens of the said treasury.

3. In regard to the third point, concerning what is owed to the fund of the goods of deceased persons – a sum which exceeds forty thousand pesos, because the governors have used it on various urgent occasions that have arisen and have not repaid it – the fiscal recognizes how just it is that an effort be made to repay and satisfy those funds, but he finds this unadvisable at present for the royal treasury; for it is first necessary to liquidate the accounts and investigate how all that sum was spent, and whether it could have been avoided, and why the governors have not always made it up from the situado which has been sent to them all these years. That must depend on the investigation which shall be made in the inspection which has been ordered to be made of the governors, auditors, treasuries, and royal officials of those islands. This point must be set down in writing, as it

[5] Alluding to the floods which, as often in former years, had recently inundated a part of the valley in which lies the City of Mexico. In 1627 heavy rains caused the bursting of the dams that confined the Quauhtitlan River, and parts of the city were overflowed. The same experience was repeated in 1629, but to such an extent that the entire city was under water, in most places more than five feet deep. It was more than four years before the city was freed from this calamity, and not until 1634 was this accomplished for the valley, by a series of earthquake shocks. See Bancroft's account of these floods, and the drainage works undertaken to prevent them, in his *Hist. Mexico*, iii, pp. 7-11, 85-91.

is so essential, so that the inspector who shall be appointed may have it well in hand. After knowing the result and report of the inspection, orders will be given as to what shall be just in regard to the payment and integrity of the said fund of the goods of deceased persons. A royal decree must be despatched, so that this indebtedness be made no greater in the future, and so that the governors take upon themselves no authority to make payments out of the said fund; and such proceeding shall be strictly prohibited to them, as it was by another decree which was despatched to Piru in regard to this same matter, and the custom of the viceroys in making payments from the fund of the goods of deceased persons.

4. In regard to the fourth point, concerning the sale of the office of [secretary of] government and war, which the governor says he has sold for fifty-four thousand pesos, the fiscal will place before the Council what will be advisable for the investigation of this matter, when the purchaser shall come to ask for the confirmation of this sale. For the present, what he has to note is that only ten thousand pesos of the said sum appear to have been in cash; for the forty-four thousand pesos remaining were received in salary-warrants which were said to be owing from the treasury to the said purchaser and to other persons. That mode of payment has many inconveniences, as has been alleged on other occasions; and order must be given that it be avoided as much as possible.

5. In regard to the fifth point, no definite measures can be taken until the accountant and royal officials have been heard, and the custom ascertained

which has been in vogue in appointing and removing the minor officials of the royal treasury; for in the majority of cases, it is usually in charge of the royal officials, to say who shall help them, and they remove or appoint as they deem best. If there has been or is anything that contradicts this, it is where such minor officials are paid and are given title by his Majesty.

6. In regard to the sixth and last point, it will be advisable to look up and collect the acts cited in it; and in the meanwhile the fiscal thinks that order should be given to pay the fees to the minor officials, as was declared by the royal Audiencia. Madrid, November 30, 1630.

[A copy of certain sections of the present letter follows (those of the fifth point) with the decree of the Council and the statement of the fiscal, all of which is given above. Several of the summaries of decrees of the Council are dated July 11, 1631. The following statement, relating to the fifth and sixth points, completes the document.]

The fiscal, having seen the acts which accompany this section of this letter, in virtue of a decree of the Council, declares that it should be ordered to observe the custom that has been followed in Manila in regard to the appointment of the clerks who serve under the royal officials; and that there be no such innovation as is attempted by the governor – by which, besides the petition that shall be given to the governor by the person who solicits such and such an office, the royal officials give information as to his ability and competency; and the governor, having considered his competency, will make the appoint-

ment. For this means to deprive the royal officials of what they now enjoy and possess, which is even less than their rights in other parts. Neither does the pretension of the accountant, Martin Ruiz de Salazar, appear suitable – namely, that he absolutely appoint his clerks and have authority to remove them; for that is contrary to the custom and procedure which has always obtained there. It is sufficient for him to propose them to the governor. It will be well for the latter to retain that privilege, especially since that royal official's associates, the treasurer and factor, do not make any demand regarding this point, although they have the same right. It will be advisable to write to the accountant that in regard to the point that he makes concerning the removing of his clerk at will, he shall go to the governor who appointed him, or to the Audiencia, where justice will be done in the presence of the parties. In regard to the laws and acts regarding this that have been referred to the Council, he thinks that either one of two means can be adopted: either to order the Audiencia of Manila to take the proper measures, after having examined the parties, since they are there, and do not come [here] under summons; or, in case the Council wishes to decide the matter, that the parties be summoned, so that they may declare what is advisable for them. For the tariff given by the Audiencia in the year 599 speaks clearly in favor of the clerks; and since it is so old and has always been observed, and since this favorable act was obtained from the Audiencia, the said royal officials cannot take any resolution within hearing of them. Thus does the fiscal petition. Madrid, June 9, 1633.

GOVERNMENT MATTERS

1. Slowness of the ships which come from Nueva España

Sire:

In a separate letter sent with this same despatch, I write to your Majesty of the matters pertaining to war, revenue, the ecclesiastical estate, and the religious orders, that have arisen in the course of the year. In the present letter, I shall briefly mention some general points of the government, for which I take pen in hand today, July 19, before the arrival at this port of Cavite of the ships from Nueva España, or news that they have entered the islands. Consequently we (I and all this city) are as anxious as can be imagined, as it is now so late and the vendavals have already set in with some vehemence. May God, in His mercy, have pity on us; and will your Majesty be pleased to urge the viceroy of Nueva España, by ordering him to have the aid for these islands leave Acapulco at least by the middle of March. By that the voyage will be made certain; but if it is delayed until the last of the same month or the first of April, as has been done these last years, these islands are in evident danger of remaining without aid, and that would mean their total ruin. [*In the margin*: "Have him notified accordingly, and advise the governor what orders have been sent to him."]

2. Despatch of the ships leaving here this year

I am despatching these ships before the arrival of the others, to the very great inconvenience of the entire country. But the trouble would be greater if the ships sailed out of season, and after the subsidence of

the vendavals, which is their proper monsoon. May God bear them with safety. They are the two best ships which have sailed from this place. The flagship was finished recently, and the almiranta is the same as new, because of the thorough overhauling that was given it on this beach. [*In the margin*: "Seen."]

3. Their small cargo, and the lack of trade in this year

Their cargo is small, because ships from China and Macan have not entered Manila this year, and those which were laden in the island of Hermosa have not returned. The reason why the Chinese did not come is the multitude of pirates of their own nation who have overrun their coasts; while it is understood that the reason why the ships have not returned from the island of Hermosa on time is because the vendavals must have set in earlier than usual. Accordingly, for both reasons the ships take less merchandise than they could, and what they take is at advanced prices. Everything has been incredibly dear in Manila this year; and we could not live here if we did not have the hope of better conditions and an abundance of all things. [*In the margin*: "Seen."]

4. Resolution taken by this city to send eight citizens to the City of Mexico, so that they may handle their merchandise in accordance with a royal decree which they have presented for that purpose.

The scarcity in the present year and the small supply of the past years have given this city occasion to resolve upon an innovation which we greatly fear will be its total ruin. The city petitioned me for the ex-

ecution of a decree of your Majesty given in the year 1593, which has not as yet been given force in what pertains to the citizens; and that is the matter in which they are causing an innovation. Your Majesty permits them in that decree to go to sell their goods in Mexico, or to send them by persons who go in the ships; but not to send or consign them to citizens of Mexico, unless it be in the second place and in case of the death of those who take them. As the profits have been so small these last few years, the citizens of Manila throw the blame on the efforts of those in Mexico, which they say are unfriendly. Consequently, they have resolved to send eight men from this city with goods of those who have consented to commit these to them; for which, although they pretended that this would not remain at the will of the owners, I, however, relying upon the decree, have refused to concede them more than it mentions. The eight men have orders and instructions to form one single body, and to sell through one person, and to manage their business by the counsel and opinion of all, the majority of votes ruling. They are to make all the necessary efforts in Nueva España for blocking the citizens of Mexico who are not agents for those in Filipinas, even if it should be necessary for some of them to go to that court to attain their purpose. [*In the margin*: "Take it to the fiscal." "It was taken to him. Answered on a separate paper."]

5. *Advantages and difficulties in the execution of this decree, and the ruinous outcome which may be feared from it.*

As the execution of this decree, although so old, is

a good method to attain what his Majesty intends and what the monarchy needs, that but little money of merchants be sent to these islands, I am giving without any opposition to the citizens of this city what is ordered by the decree, as will be seen by the acts that have been passed in this regard – which I am sending to that royal Council, in order that it may understand the matter better, and that it may take the measures which seem most advisable. The truth is, that I fear lest a violent clash result from this innovation, between this city and that of Mexico; for the citizens of the latter place, when they find themselves deprived of the gains which they had by acting as agents for those of Filipinas, will render poor service as such to the latter; and further, knowing that the citizens here are combining against them, that will oblige them also to combine [against these citizens], in order not to make the returns this year with any silver. That would be the total ruin of this colony, because of the small investments and business affairs of these last years. [*In the margin*: "Take it to the fiscal with the acts." "They were taken to him. Response on a separate paper."]

6. That all that has been done in this matter has been with the approval and assent of the Audiencia, and against my own.

I never took my pen to sign an act in this matter (upon which all the Audiencia was unanimous), for they seemed to me the most serious acts that could arise pro and con in this community. All that I have executed has been against my own opinion. What I would gladly have done would be to have four or six alert men to take charge of the goods of private per-

sons, and have each one administer it as best he could, without at present trying to oppose the citizens of Mexico and to deprive them at one stroke of the agencies, and that would be accomplished gradually. Besides, times becoming better by buying here cheap, the profits would be greater; and it would be a good expedient not to send too great a consignment of goods to Nueva España. That would be, and this city would have, some relief without so much offense to the City of Mexico, which is of no less importance to the monarchy than this city. [*In the margin*: "Take it to the fiscal." "It was referred to him. Response in a separate paper."]

7. *How injurious it is to take loans from the inhabitants of this city*

The havoc wrought by the loans which the inhabitants are forced to make to the royal treasury, which is now owing them about two hundred thousand pesos, is not little. The inhabitants have been unable to invest that money, and hence the deficiency in what they could have used in trade has embarrassed them with a like shortage in the profits that they would have made with this sum. Your Majesty ought to have this matter remedied by ordering the viceroys of Nueva España to aid this treasury with the sum asked for here; for surely such procedure means the total destruction of these few vassals whom your Majesty has here in this little commonwealth. If that relief be lacking, the enemy will have but little to do in making themselves masters of the South Sea. [*In the margin*: "That this matter is being discussed very carefully and that it will be thoroughly examined in order to give a suitable answer."]

8. The fresh supply of saltpetre which was brought from Yndia by the efforts of Don Felipe Mascareñas, captain of Cochin.

Four galliots have come from Yndia with flour and a certain quantity of saltpetre, of which we were in great need. The captain of Cochin, Don Felipe de Mascareñas, is the one who has solicited it; and he aids me very punctually with what I ask from him. I am trying to have some ships built there for the Nueva España line. I request your Majesty to thank him, and to encourage him to pay careful attention to the quick building of the new ships; for this would effect much, and relieve the islands of one of the greatest burdens that they endure, namely, the shipyards and shipbuilding. [*In the margin*: "Let his Majesty be consulted, so that the same be done in such manner as he prefers." "Consultation was held October 17."]

9. Embassy sent to the king of Camboja; the building of ships; and the trade that has been established with him.

For the same purpose I despatched an embassy this year to the kingdom of Camboja, in order to ascertain whether it has suitable timber. I have heard that those who went there have been well received by the king, and that he is answering me by another embassy composed of his vassals. They say that he has never done so with anyone else, and that the building of a ship was already being begun. I am momentarily expecting a patache which was bought there, in which the ambassadors are coming. I trust that very many matters for relief for these islands and saving for your Majesty will be arranged with them be-

sides the shipbuilding, as well as the advantage which the Catholic faith may obtain in this commerce. For some Dominican fathers whom I sent as chaplains for the Spaniards write me that they were very cordially received by the king, and that the latter had given them permission to build a church, and to baptize those who wished to be converted. [*In the margin*: "Have him advise us of the result, and approve what he is doing."]

10. Embassy and trade with the king of Cochinchina

I also sent a message to the king of Cochinchina, with letters and presents, in order to establish a factory in his kingdom, both for the building of ships and for the exporting of iron and other metals – which can be imported from there at much less cost than what is now incurred here in the islands. I have already received a reply from the king, which contains many expressions of desire that what I am trying to do will be effected; and I am in hopes of accomplishing it this year. [*In the margin*: "Approve it and tell him to continue these efforts."]

11. Message to the king of Sian, and the condition in which the punishment meted out to him last year has placed him.

As for the king of Sian, I advised your Majesty last year of the punishment inflicted upon him for his injustice toward the inhabitants of this city in keeping their goods. After having inflicted the punishment, I thought it advisable to send him a message through an experienced person of his kingdom, declaring what was intended by the expedition of the

galleons to his river; and warning him to give full satisfaction, unless he wished the punishment to proceed further. The messenger found the king dead, and all the counselors removed who were in power at the time when the matter occurred, and the new king so fearful of the arms of your Majesty that he was afraid to despatch any vessel from his coasts. He has sent the messenger back to me with letters and presents, in which he begs for our friendship, and satisfies in words the injustice which his father committed. However, he does not make any active reparation, so that I am at present in a condition of continuing the chastisement or of accepting the reparation and friendship which he asks, as shall seem to me best for the welfare of these islands. This is a matter of importance, which I am communicating in order that what is most expedient may be carried out. [*In the margin*: "That it is well to continue demanding from him what his father owed."]

[*12.*] *Despatch sent to Japon in regard to the burning of the junk, of which advice was sent last year; and the controversy regarding this which the city of Macan has maintained with me.*

Like efforts have been made to restore the trade with Japon, which was formerly of great importance to these islands. I sent a despatch to the governor of Nangasaqui, sending him forty-two Japanese whom General Don Juan de Alcaraso brought to me from a junk of that nation – which, as I advised you last year, he burned at the bar of the river of Sian. I offered them friendship and trade, giving them to understand that the burning was done without my orders; and that, if they would have trade

and commerce with these islands as before, I would give satisfaction for the damage in the said burning. This despatch did not reach Nangasaqui in the time that I supposed, nor as yet have we heard from it. The news of the said burning having reached that same city [*i.e.*, Nangasaqui] at a time when the Portuguese were there with the galliots that make that voyage, trading with their merchandise, the Japanese attempted to attack them, and to force them to pay the value of the merchandise and the junk which were burned; and it is feared that thereupon they would lay an embargo on the three galliots. However, as yet we do not know with certainty or assurance, except that a suit was pending in the court of the king of Japon, the Portuguese claiming that they could not in justice be forced to repay the damage which the Castilians had done. Thereupon the city of Macan earnestly begged me to make satisfaction, and send the value of the cargo burned and lost in the said junk, in order to silence the Japanese. Being desirous of gratifying the people of Macan, and settling the matter, I called an assembly of theologians and jurists, in which I broached the subject. All agreed that so long as the Japanese persevered in locking the door to commerce with these islands, contrary to justice and reason, there should be no talk of giving satisfaction for the damage inflicted, until advice could be given to your Majesty – even though it should follow from this, by a casualty not intended, that the Portuguese with whom the said Japanese trade should have to pay for the loss. This will be seen more in detail in the authentic copy of the said council's proceedings, which I enclose herewith, so that if perchance the

city of Macan should petition your Majesty through the Council of Portugal to have these damages paid, no decision may be made in the matter until you shall have seen the motives which we have here for failing to settle it. In such case, I petition your Majesty also to be pleased to examine, with this section of this letter, that of another which I wrote in the past year of 628 in regard to the same matter. It will be considered that if the damage inflicted has to be paid for, it will fall upon those who did it. That would be the soldiers of this camp and the leader under whom they were, namely, the said commander, Don Joan de Alcarasso, who distinguished themselves greatly in your Majesty's service in the said expedition of the galleons. [*In the margin*: "File, and have the fiscal examine it all." "It was all filed and referred to the fiscal. It is answered on a separate paper."]

13. Departure of Don Fernando de Silva, and difficulties that arose in it

Don Fernando de Silva (who is the person whom I found governing in these islands when I arrived here), exercising the permission given him by your Majesty by which he may enjoy for eight years the encomiendas held here by his wife for two lives, undertook to make his voyage this year. As I thought that a government permit in writing (as is usual with others who have not been governors) was unnecessary so that he might embark, I communicated the matter to the Audiencia in session, which was of my opinion. But the auditors added that the governor ought to issue an act by which he should notify your Majesty's fiscal and the official royal

judges that the said Don Fernando was leaving these islands, and that he thus informed them in case that they had anything to plead against him. I thought it an unnecessary proceeding, as the departure of the said Don Fernando de Silva was sufficiently public; yet, in order to comply with the opinion of the Audiencia, I issued the said act. The fiscal entered a demand that the said Don Fernando be commanded to give bonds, for himself and his agents and servants, to furnish residencia for the time while he had governed these islands, and to pay the judgment and sentence therein. A copy of this document was given to the party. He replied that the governor was not a competent judge of this article of residencia, but only the royal Council of the Yndias. I thought the same, and so did the government assessor. I ruled that the fiscal should demand what was expedient for him from the judge before whom he could and should appear by right. He appealed from this to the royal Audiencia, which declared that the governor was a competent judge, and that he ought to pass judgment upon this article. This matter has been examined and reviewed, without there having been found any decree of your Majesty which orders such a thing, or any precedent of a similar case made here or in Nueva España – not only as far as the governor, captain-general, and president of the Audiencia is concerned, but even for the officials of the Audiencia. They, having been promoted to other parts, have gone without giving their residencia or bonds, so long as that royal Council does not provide therefor. Consequently, notwithstanding what the Audiencia declared, I thought it wise not to set such a precedent, or cause such difficulty

to the superior ministers of your Majesty (who would have them under your eyes, in whatever part they might be), so that you may order them to pay what they should be sentenced to pay in their residencia, when your royal Council shall decide that it be taken. I was obliged to make this decision by the consideration that it might happen that there might not be left to a governor persons who are under obligation to him in the country, because he has given to no one other things than what he has deserved, by which no one considers himself favored and obliged. And it may be that no one can be found to go bond for him; and it will not be right that he should have to remain in the Filipinas on account of not having bonds, if there is no commission to take his residencia. And this would weigh even more heavily upon the auditors, who have less power to give favors; and, when they were promoted by your Majesty, they would be unable to go to take charge of their places for lack of bonds. Thus they would remain in this land, exposed to innumerable affronts from those to whom they had administered justice, which is a thing that your Majesty ought not to permit to happen to your ministers. Although all these reasons were sufficient to decide me not to allow this innovation without a special order from your Majesty, there is, in the present case of Don Fernando de Silba, another very special consideration, since he is leaving an encomienda in this country with an income of four thousand pesos per year. That is the best bond that one can ask. Consequently, seeing that no detriment was being incurred in not taking the bonds, I decided the matter by declaring that I was not judge in this sense. I am sending the

copies of the acts to that royal Council, so that your Majesty may be pleased, after their examination, to enact what may be considered most fitting, and with all distinctness, so that there may be no abuses here, and so that the governors who depart after the entrance of the other governors may not be harassed. With Don Fernando I have maintained very harmonious relations during the three years while I kept him here. On the occasion of this despatch, I have furnished him all the accommodations possible, assigning him forty toneladas of cargo to carry his goods, household, and servants. He is a person who is worthy of what favor your Majesty may show him, and will render excellent service in any employment that he may hold. [*In the margin*: "Refer it to the fiscal." "It was referred. Answered on a separate paper."]

[*14.*] *Erection of the bridge; and how the hospital has been given the revenue produced by the ferry boat.*

The bridge which I began in this city (as I have advised you during the last few years) is now in such a condition that we can cross by it. It will be finished in a couple of months without having cost the citizens or your Majesty a single maravedi. The Sangleys have built it from their common fund, with which they have been freed from the amount that the ferry-boat cost them. The latter belonged to the hospital of the same Sangleys, which is in charge of the Dominican fathers; and it netted them at least two thousand pesos annually. They maintained themselves with that sum; and accordingly, so that that hospital, so necessary for that nation, might not

be left without support, it has seemed best, with the consent of the Audiencia, to assign to the hospital the same sum of two thousand pesos per year from the common fund of the same Sangleys, with their consent. Thus will it be done, and the Sangleys do not pay any ferry rate, but support the hospital, in which they are treated, from their common fund. Your Majesty is patron of it as ever, the fathers happy, and the poor well provided for. [*In the margin*: "File this with what is enacted in the petition of the Dominican fathers." "This section was filed with a memorial given by Fray Mateo de Villa." "It is decreed in the memorial and what is to be answered, here on a separate paper."]

15. Sickness in Manila this year, and death of the archbishop

I hope to construct other works this year, if our Lord gives me life, with which this city will be no less beautified. There has been but little health in this city and its environs this year, with many sudden deaths, both of Spaniards and Indian natives and slaves. Among others has passed away the archbishop Don Fray Miguel Garcia Serrano, who died on Corpus Christi, as is written at greater length in the letter touching the ecclesiastical estate. [*In the margin*: "Seen."]

16. Arrival of the aid and ships from Nueva España

Just as I reached this point in my letter, and when about to seal it, I received news that the two ships which sailed for Nueva España last year for the reënforcement have returned with it; and that they

have made port in different parts of these islands, because the weather did not allow them to reach this port of Cavite. They left Nueva España late, and the vendavals set in early. Hence the voyage has been one of hardships, and it was a great mercy of God that they were able to make the islands, although not little is the discomfort and not few the additional expenses that have been incurred because of their inability to make this port. What I grieve over most is to see the inadequacy of the aid, which does not reach two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, while I informed the viceroy that we needed four hundred thousand, as I wrote last year. Consequently, I again petition your Majesty in the same terms as in that letter, to be pleased to endow these islands with the said sum, so that it may not be at the will of the viceroys of Nueva España to discontinue sending it. This is the chief point, and on it is based all the government of these islands, so that we may be able to give a good account of them to your Majesty. [*In the margin*: "Have what was enacted for this examined." "The enactments were examined, and filed with this section for the Council. Answered on a separate paper."]

17. Aid of artillery sent to the viceroy

The viceroy of Nueva España asks me for bronze artillery with which to fortify the fortress of San Juan de Ulua, sending me twenty-four thousand pesos for the expense of it. Although the ships have arrived so late that I have had no time to cast it in the quantity and of the quality that he asks, I am sending him the equivalent [of the money] in eighteen excellent pieces from what we have already

manufactured, with which I think that that fort will be well defended, and the viceroy will have the pieces with which to go to succor the fort if it should be necessary. He tells me that he wishes some of the artillery which he has asked of me for that purpose. [*In the margin*: "It is well, and let him execute what the viceroy shall advise him of in this respect."]

May God preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty with the increase of kingdoms and states that is necessary to Christendom. Cavite, August first, 1629. Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

[Appended to this letter are the following documents:]

SECOND COUNCIL IN REGARD TO THE INJURIES COMMITTED ON THE JAPANESE BOAT WHICH WAS CAPTURED IN SIAN

In the city of Manila, on the sixteenth day of the month of January, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, Don Juan Niño de Tavora, knight of the Order of Calatrava, comendador of Puerto Llano, member of the Council of War of the king our sovereign, his governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia therein, called a meeting of theologians and jurists in order to discuss matters of his Majesty's service, and those touching cases of conscience and justice. And in the royal buildings and the palace of the governor's dwelling, in the presence of Licentiate Marcos Çapata de Galvez, fiscal of the said royal Audiencia; the reverend fathers, Fray Do-

mingo Gonzalez of the Order of St. Dominic, commissary of the Holy Office and rector of the college of Sancto Tomas; Fray Juan de Montemayor, of the Order of St. Augustine, Fathers Diego de Bobadilla and Francisco Colin of the Society of Jesus of this city, father Fray Gaspar de Santa Monica, lecturer on theology in the convent of St. Nicolas of the Order of the discalced Augustinians; and Licentiate Don Rodrigo Gonzalez de Varreda, his Lordship's assessor; and all being assembled: the lord governor ordered me, the present government secretary, to read a paper, which his Lordship gave me for that purpose. I read it, and it was of the following tenor.

"In May of one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight, there took place at the bar of the river of Sian the capture and burning of the junk from Xapon, caused by our galleons. In July of the same year, it was decided, at a meeting of four theologians and two jurists which was called to discuss the matter, that this act had been unjust, for lack of authority by him who did it; and that, accordingly, the one who caused the damage was under obligations to make it good to the Japanese.

"That satisfaction has not been discussed as yet, except that the king gave liberty to the Japanese who were captured; and they were made ready to be sent to their country with messages for the governor of Nangasaqui. These were to the effect that keen regret was felt over the illegal act recently committed by our galleons; and that as to the value of the junk and its cargo, order would be given to make complete reparation, if the Japanese would open commerce with this city, as was done in former years, and as they now have with the Portuguese.

Of the contrary, in case that the Japanese refuse to open commerce, nothing was said; nor did it state who was the principal cause, but gave the order for the damage. No investigation or effort has been made in regard to reparation, but a reply is being awaited to the message which was sent to Japon, so that the government might know what ought to be done and ordered.

"The reason for this suspension or omission on the part of the government has been because we considered that the king our sovereign has a legitimate cause to make war on the Japanese on account of the faith which they so cruelly persecute; and because all who leave Japon in order to ship goods have to deny the faith before embarking, at least to outward appearance, and unite with the heathen in order to persecute the faith. Thus it is believed that these islands have an especial reason to consider themselves aggrieved by Japon. 1st. Because the Japanese have prohibited commerce without other reason than the faith, and that with so great severity that a ship which sailed secretly from the districts of Arima and Omura for these islands having put back, and the Japanese ascertaining whither it was bound, that resulted in the loss of many lives, and in most cruel injuries to the Christian people there. 2d. Because the Japanese refused to receive the ambassadors who were sent from here in order to bring about peace and harmony between these kingdoms. 3d. Because of the old-time robberies which were made in the time of Taicosama, and by his order, of the goods of the galleon "San Phelipe," which put in at their coasts because of bad weather – the Japanese martyring on that occasion the religious of St. Francis who

protested against the injustice; and Taico declaring war against these islands in the endeavor to make them tributary, and for some years sending a number of ships to infest, as they did, these coasts; and although peace was made afterward in the time of Daifu, and commerce was reopened, still they never gave satisfaction for the wrong committed, nor did we obtain damages for it. Consequently, as soon as the peace was broken, on account of Daifu, and because they deprived us of commerce with them, it appears that they again revived the past insults and that they are vigorously demanding their right of procuring redress. 4th. Because from the time when our ships put in at Japon, and the Japanese had news of the richness of these islands, they have always tried to conquer them, by endeavoring to get a foothold on the island of Hermosa, in order to make it a way-station for the conquest of Luzon. That has caused the governors of Philipinas to make great expenditures and vast preparations during the past few years; and but recently it is learned that discussions of this kind are rife in Japon, and that their reason for not doing it [*i.e.*, conquering the islands] is not the lack of malice but of power.

"For all the above reasons, it was nevertheless doubted whether the capture and burning of the said junk were unjust, if, now that it has been done, the king our sovereign could avail himself of these wrongs as a beginning and part of the compensation; and if those who govern these islands in the name of his Majesty could remain firm, and order the person who committed the injury not to give any satisfaction so long as they make no reparation in Japon – or at least so long as they do not desist from the afore-

said injuries, by opening commerce, or in some other manner that may be advantageous to these islands. In virtue of that doubt the discussion of the question of satisfaction for the injuries has been neglected until now by the government. The government has contented itself with the aforesaid measures of granting liberty and accommodations to the Japanese, and a message which was sent to the Japanese – to which the reasons and consequences of state that existed for it obliged us.

" One of these reasons was that one now urged by the correspondence with Macan, upon whose commerce Japon might perhaps fall in order to obtain reparation for the injury which this government might inflict upon them, as we see has been attempted. The city and commandant of Macan request these islands to make reparation immediately for the goods, so that the difficulty may not recoil upon them, to the damage of their goods and of the commerce between Yndia and Japon, which they declare to be of great importance for the preservation of Christianity in those islands."

And having finished reading the said paper in the said meeting, his Lordship requested those present to give him their opinions in regard to its contents, so that the most advisable measures might be taken for the service of his Majesty and for the relief of his conscience.

All the said assembly having heard and understood the contents of the said paper, above incorporated, and conferred regarding it and what in conscience they ought and could do, voted unanimously and as one man that the king our sovereign and these islands have sufficient cause in law to avail them-

selves of these wrongs which were committed by our galleons without their orders, and to take them as a beginning and part of the reparation; and that, so long as the Japanese did not give satisfaction for the aforesaid wrongs, the lord governor ought not to order any reparation to be given; for the right to take reparation, when the party owes it and does not give it, is plain. In the present case, it is certain that his Majesty could with justice order the said loss, and even greater, to be inflicted upon the Japanese, in retaliation for the injuries committed on the faith and these islands. And since he did not order it, but it is done, he has an undisputed faculty and right to avail himself of the wrongs committed. Thus it appears that there is no doubt that his Majesty's officials are not bound in conscience to make reparation to those of Japon until his Majesty is advised of the case, so that we may see whether he wishes to avail himself of, or to have these islands avail themselves of, his right. In regard to the mention of the injury that may follow to the inhabitants of Macan if reparation be not made immediately, as yet we do not know that the latter have shipped anything; and even if they had, Macan, in order not to break with Japon, would have to pay the value of this junk, since that is an incident not reckoned on by Manila, but one which this city rather tried to obviate by all the means which were readily feasible, such as giving liberty to the prisoners, sending an embassy and messages of apology to the Japanese, and pledging immediate reparation for the injury done to their property, if they would open trade and make peace with these islands. So long as they do not do this his Lordship appears to be fulfilling the

demands of conscience by informing his Majesty of what is happening, so that as sovereign of both states [*i.e.*, Manila and Macan], he may order what is to his royal service. This is their opinion, and the said father Diego de Bobadilla said that the opinion does not state anything as to who ought to make reparation for the said injuries, nor do they consider that; because it does not pertain to them to give any opinion or judgment on that point, but only to state who would have authority for doing it.

His Lordship, having seen the above opinions, declared that he was in accord with them, and that he is doing what is mentioned in them in the manner which seems to his Lordship best. He affixed his signature, as did the rest of the said assembly.

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA
LICENTIATE MARCOS ÇAPATA DE GALVEZ
FRAY DOMINGO DE GONÇALES
FRANCISCO COLIN
DIEGO DE BOBADILLA
DON RODRIGO GONÇALES DE BARREDA

Before me: ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Collated with the original records which rest in this government office. By order of the said lord governor and captain-general, I drew up this copy, at Manila, June twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, [witnesses being] Francisco de Silva and Don Juan Martin. In testimony of the truth, I seal and sign it officially.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO, royal secretary.

We, the undersigned notaries, attest that Andres Martin del Arroyo, by whom these copies appear to

be signed and sealed, is a notary of the king our sovereign, and exercises the office of chief government and military notary of these islands. The copies and other matters that pass and have passed before him are given and have been given entire faith and credit, both in and out of court. Given in Manila, July three, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine.

PEDRO MUÑOZ DE HERRERA, royal notary.
LUIS DE BARRASA, royal notary.
LUIS DE TORRES, royal notary.

ACTS REGARDING DEPARTURE OF FERNANDO DE SILVA FROM THE ISLANDS

Act by the governor

In the city of Manila, on the sixteenth of July, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, Don Juan Niño de Tavora, knight of the Order of Calatrava, comendador of Puerto Llano, member of the Council of War of the king our sovereign, his governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia therein, declared that, inasmuch as Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the habit of Santiago, former governor and captain-general of these islands and president of the royal Audiencia therein, because of the death of Don Alonso Fajardo de Tença, is to go to Nueva España this present year, and to take his wife, Doña Maria de Salazar, and his household and family: therefore he ordered – and he did so order – that if the fiscal of these islands and the royal officials have anything to plead against the said Don Fernando de Silva, whereby he should not make his voyage without

any hindrance, they do it within the following day. Thus did he enact and order, and he signed it.

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

Before me:

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Notification to and reply of the fiscal

In Manila, on the seventeenth of July, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, I, the notary, read and announced the act of the lord governor, contained in another part of this, to Licentiate Marcos Çapata de Galvez, fiscal of the royal Audiencia of these islands. Having heard it, he said that what he has to demand is that the said Don Fernando give bonds to furnish residencia, both for himself and for his agents and servants, for the time while he governed these islands; and to pay the amount to which he should be adjudged and sentenced, and that he leave a person with accepted powers to give the said residencia. Thus does he request his Lordship to order, as that is justice. He signed it, and will request it by petition.

MARCOS ÇAPATA DE GALVEZ

Before me:

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Notification to the treasurer

In Manila, July seventeen, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, I, the notary, announced the act of the lord governor, herein elsewhere contained, to the treasurer, Juan Ruiz Descalona, official judge of the royal exchequer in these islands. Having heard it, he declared that he does not know whether Don Fernando de Silva is indebted to the royal treas-

ury. If he is not, then he does not know of any reason why, in what concerns this matter, there should be any obstacle to prevent his journey. He signed the same.

JUAN RUIZ DESCALONA
ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Notification to the accountant

In Manila, July seventeen, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, I, the secretary, gave notice of the act of the governor and captain-general, on the preceding leaf, to the accountant, Martin Ruiz de Salazar, official judge of the royal exchequer in these islands. He declared that when Don Fernando de Silva was governor he ordered and commanded some things contrary to the ordinances in regard to payments which were made from the royal treasury, as he thought them expedient for his Majesty's service. There is nothing evident today in the royal accountancy why he should be detained, for this concerns the residencia which he should give, with the bonds which the fiscal demands shall, according to law, be furnished in residencias, to pay the sum to which he may be adjudged and sentenced. It is well provided, except, etc. He signed the same.

MARTIN RUIZ DE SALAZAR
ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Demand of his Majesty's fiscal

I, Licentiate Marcos Çapata de Galvez, his Majesty's fiscal in this royal Audiencia, declare that the government secretary, Andres Martin del Arroyo, notified me of an act of his Lordship, in which he orders me to plead what there may be to plead against Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the habit

of Santiago, and that the same act be made known to the royal officials, in consideration of the fact that he is to make his voyage to Nueva España this year. Since the said Don Fernando should give his residencia for the time while he was governor of these islands, it will be advisable for your Lordship that, if his departure be effected, he shall give good and creditable bonds to furnish the said residencia for himself and for his agents and servants, and to pay the sum to which he may be adjudged and sentenced, leaving a person with accepted powers who may give it for him. This being complied with by the royal exchequer, I have nothing else to require. I request and beseech your Lordship to have the said Don Fernando give bonds to pay the sum to which he may be adjudged and sentenced in the residencia which he shall furnish and that he leave a person with accepted powers to give it when his Majesty orders it, for all this that I request is justice, etc.

LICENTIATE MARCOS ÇAPATA DE GALVEZ

Act

Cavite, July eighteen, six hundred and twenty-nine. Copy for Don Fernando de Silva. Thus he [*i.e.*, the governor] enacts, together with his counselor. At the bottom of this decree are two rubrics, one of the lord governor and captain-general, and the other of Licentiate Don Rodrigo Gonçales de Barreda, his counselor.

ANDRES MARTIN [DEL ARROYO]

Petition of Don Fernando de Silva

I, Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the Order of

Santiago, former governor and captain-general in these islands and president of his royal Audiencia for the king our sovereign, in answer to a writ presented by his Majesty's fiscal, in which he declares that he has been notified of an act of your Lordship ordering him to plead against me whatever he might have to plead, in consideration of the fact that I am about to go to Nueva España; and who demanded that I be ordered to leave bonds for the sum to which I might be adjudged and sentenced in the residencia that is to be taken from me, and a person with accepted powers to furnish my residencia for me when his Majesty orders it: declare that notwithstanding that the said act could not be pronounced by your Lordship, nor the said demand made by the fiscal – which is an innovation that until today has not been made with any of the governors, or with any other official of his Majesty among the number of those who must give residencia of their offices when and before whom the royal pleasure dictates – (for that belongs exclusively to the royal person and to the supreme Council of the Indias, and to no other judge or royal minister) yet, without prejudice to my right, and without attributing to your Lordship greater jurisdiction than what belongs to your office, because on my part there is no cause to refuse what the said fiscal demands, and in order to avoid the trouble which might ensue for me if my voyage were hindered or delayed by opposing the said demand at a time when the ships are so soon to set sail, I am ready to give the said bonds, that I will furnish residencia for all matters in which by law I ought to give it, and that I will pay the sum to which I may be adjudged and sentenced in the resi-

dencia; and, besides, to leave a person with accepted powers who shall give my residencia for me when his Majesty orders it. I request and beseech your Lordship to receive from me the said bonds by the present notary, for which, etc., and in all justice.

DON FERNANDO DE SILVA
DON JUAN FERNANDEZ DE LEDO

Act of the governor

In the port of Cavite, July twenty-three, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, Don Juan Niño de Tavora, governor and captain-general of these islands, having seen this petition of Don Fernando and what was demanded by the fiscal regarding the bonds to give residencia for himself and for his servants and agents, for the time while he was governor and captain-general of these islands and president of the royal Audiencia therein: declared that the fiscal should plead what he had to plead in this regard before whom and with what law he ought and could plead it. Thus did he order, and he signed the same, with the advice of his counselor, who signed.

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA
LICENTIATE DON RODRIGO GONÇALEZ DE BARREDA
Before me:
ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Notification to his Majesty's fiscal, and his appeal

In the city of Manila, July twenty-three, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, I, the present secretary, read and announced the act (which is written on the leaf preceding this) enacted by Don Juan Niño de Tavora, governor and captain-general

of these islands, to Licentiate Marcos Çapata de Galvez, fiscal of this royal Audiencia, in his own person. His Grace said that talking with the due respect, he appeals to the president and auditors of the said royal Audiencia, and requests the government secretary that, in accordance with the ordinance, he go to the Audiencia to make a report of this cause. This was what he gave as his reply, and he affixed his signature thereto, witnesses being Licentiate Pedro Lopez and Juan de Cañeda, residents of Manila.

LICENTIATE MARCOS ÇAPATA DE GALVEZ

Before me:

DIEGO DE TORRES, royal notary.

Summons given to Don Fernando

In Manila, on the said day, month, and year, I, the undersigned notary, gave notice and summoned in due form, for the appeal interposed by the fiscal, and at his request, Don Fernando de Silva, in his own person. He said that he hears it, and regards himself as summoned. Witnesses were Captain Don Manuel de Torres and Alférez Bartolome Gomez, and I attest the same.

Before me:

DIEGO DE TORRES, royal notary.

Act of the royal Audiencia

In the city of Manila, July twenty-four, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, the president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands, having examined these acts in regard to the demand of his Majesty's fiscal of this said royal Audiencia – by virtue of which Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the habit of Santiago, and

former governor and captain-general of these islands and president of this royal Audiencia, should give bonds to furnish residencia for the time while he exercised the said duties, for himself and his agents, and to pay the sum to which he may be adjudged and sentenced in that residencia, leaving a person with accepted powers to give the said residencia – and the appeal interposed on the part of the said fiscal from the act enacted by the governor and captain-general of these islands on the twenty-third of the present month and year, in which he ordered that the said fiscal plead in this regard what he had to plead before whom and with the law that he ought: declared that they returned this cause – and they did return it – to the said governor, so that as a competent judge, he might enact what should be just in the matter. By this act they so enacted, ordered, and decreed.

Before me:

PEDRO MUÑOZ DE HERRERA

Appeal of Don Fernando from the said act

Most potent Sire:

I, Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, your former governor and captain-general in these islands, and president of the royal Audiencia, appeal from the act of the Audiencia of the twenty-fourth of this month of July, only in regard to their ordering returned to your governor and captain-general the cause which your fiscal of this royal Audiencia is prosecuting, by which they order me to give bonds that I will furnish residencia of the said offices and pay the sum to which I shall be adjudged and sentenced in it, as I am about to go to Nueva España. It was declared in the said act that the said your gov-

ernor and captain-general was a competent judge to try the said cause. That said act, only as far as the said declaration is concerned (and speaking with due respect), must be revoked as a general rule, and because I am, by having exercised the said offices of president, governor, and captain-general, immediately subordinate to your royal person and to your supreme Council of the Indias; and no other judge or tribunal can take it upon themselves to try anything pertaining to the residencia of the said offices or to security for residencia. Thus, until the present time, the said bonds have not been required in this city for this royal Audiencia or for your governors, my predecessors in the government, or for your auditors when they leave these islands to go to Nueva España or to other parts (who ought also to give residencia for their offices at the will of your royal Council); they have gone without giving the said bonds. Moreover, as is proved by this royal decree, of which I present an authorized copy, attested by three royal notaries, your royal person was pleased to give me permission authorizing me to make the said voyage, without condition or obligation of giving the said bonds. The obligation that your Majesty did not impose in the said permit cannot be imposed by any of the judges or ministers inferior to the said your royal Council of the Indias. And accordingly, although the question of the said bonds might have been discussed with other persons, that cannot be understood as applying to me; but I must be allowed to make my voyage freely, without any obstacle being offered, as his Majesty[6] orders, notwithstanding the contents of my writing of the twenty-third of this

[6] The petition here addresses the governor instead of the king.

month. For that writing was without prejudice to my right, and did not attribute any jurisdiction to the said your governor. I presented the said writing before receiving the said permission from his Majesty. Consequently, I petition and beseech your Highness to be pleased to have the said act revoked, in so far as it concerns the said declaration, by ordering that it be understood without having the cause returned to the said your governor and captain-general; for what I petition is justice, and for it, etc.

DON FERNANDO DE SILVA
DOCTOR JUAN FERNANDEZ DE LEDO

Act of the royal Audiencia, and reply of the fiscal

In Manila, on the twenty-seventh of July, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, while the president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands were in session, this petition was presented, which having been examined they asked for a copy. The fiscal presented an act which declared that appeal ought not to be allowed from an act referring back a cause. Consequently, since this cause has been returned to the lord governor, his Lordship must decide the chief matter, namely, whether or not to allow the said bonds to be given. The documents presented are not for this plea, but for the principal cause before the lord governor. Therefore, the fiscal, as far as he is concerned, concludes by this plea.

LICENTIATE MARCOS ÇAPATA DE GALVEZ
Before me: ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Summons to Don Fernando, and his reply

In the city of Manila, on July twenty-seven, one

thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, I, the secretary, informed Don Fernando de Silva of the act herein elsewhere contained. He declared that the appeal which he has interposed is in regard to declaring the auditors of the royal Audiencia competent judges of that which the fiscal has demanded from the governor. He declared that, in regard to this question, there must be an authoritative statement from the proper source; and that the appeal must be allowed. On seeing the acts, he regards himself as summoned. He signed the same.

DON FERNANDO DE SILVA

Before me:

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO, royal secretary.

Decree for Don Fernando

The King. On behalf of you, Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, relation has been made me that you have served in the states of Flandes, and that you have served in other important affairs for more than ten years; that, having gone to Nueva España by the appointment of the marquis of Çerralbo, you served *ad interim* in the duties of my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia therein, because of the death of Don Alonso Fajardo de Tença; that you did it excellently, maintaining that community in peace, which was supplied with what was necessary; and that my royal treasury was but little burdened. When Don Juan Niño de Tavora arrived to serve me in those offices, he found the finest fleet of galleons which those islands have had, with which they could defend themselves from the enemies who infest them; provision of the metals

necessary for casting artillery, and fifty molds for casting the pieces every two days; and the infantry in good discipline, clothing in abundance, and the ships for Nueva España ready to lade. Possession had been taken in my name of the island of Hermosa, which is eighteen leguas from the mainland of China, in the year six hundred and twenty-six, by which it will always be safe for the wealth of that kingdom to pass by there, without the enemy being able to hinder them (their fortress being very well fortified by nature). You were married in those islands to Doña Maria de Salazar, granddaughter of one of the earliest and most prominent conquistadors and settlers of the islands, and your father-in-law was the first Spaniard born in the said islands;[7] and, in commemoration of the services which the aforesaid performed, the encomienda of Butuan and Oton was given to them, which they enjoyed. I conceded the favor of prolonging to the said Doña Maria de Salazar, your wife, the same encomienda for one generation more, by a decree of February twenty-four, six hundred and twenty-two; and to it shall succeed the person to whom it shall belong and pertain according to the law of succession. You went to the said islands solely for the purpose of serving me in the said duties, and incurred many expenses on the voyage, and enjoyed only slightly more than one year's salary. You have a desire to continue in my service, petitioning me that, in order that you may be able to do so, and in remuneration of the forbears of your wife, I employ you without the prohibition imposed on ab-

[7] See VOL. VIII, pp. 127, 133, where the encomiendas of Butuan and Oton are mentioned as held by Doña Lucía de Loarca. This would indicate that Silva's wife was a granddaughter of Miguel de Loarca, and that her father was a son of the latter.

sentees, ordering that they may not enjoy the income from their encomiendas of Indians, preventing you therefrom; and [that you be allowed] to appoint a representative [of the encomienda] to the satisfaction of my governor of the said islands as is the usual custom. The matter having been examined in my royal Council of the Indias, I have considered it proper to give the present. By it I give permission to you, the said Don Fernando de Silva, to be absent for the space of eight years from the said encomienda, together with all your household and goods, in Nueva España or in any other part where I may employ you, provided that you leave the representative and all the rest to which you, as an encomendero, are obliged, to the satisfaction of my governor of the said islands, to whom and to my royal Audiencia of the said islands, I order no obstruction to your voyage to be placed. During the said eight years, which are to run and be reckoned from the day on which you leave the said islands in order to make your voyage, they shall not take away from or deprive you of the said Indians; and shall allow you to enjoy freely the income from them and the other things which you shall possess in the said islands, notwithstanding any royal orders or decrees given to the contrary. Such orders and decrees, I do for this time, and so far as they touch this case, dispense with. Given in Madrid, October two, one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven.

I THE KING

By order of the king our sovereign:

DON FERNANDO RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

I copy this transcript from the original, which was in possession of the treasurer, Alonso de Santoyo,

knight of the Order of Santiago, at whose request it was drawn. It is a faithful and true copy. Mexico, March twelve, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine. Witnesses were Hipolito de Santoyo and Geronimo de Marquina, inhabitants of Mexico. I seal it in testimony of the truth.

MARCOS LEANDRO, his Majesty's notary.

We, the undersigned notaries, certify and attest that Marcos Leandro, by whom this copy appears to be signed and sealed, is a notary of his Majesty; and as such, entire faith and credit has been and is given to the writs and other acts which have passed and pass before him, both in and out of court. In order that it may be apparent, we give the present in Mexico, March twelve, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine.

PEDRO GALLO, his Majesty's notary.
FRANCISCO GALLO, his Majesty's notary.
ALONSO CAVALLERO, his Majesty's notary.

Act ordering the fulfilment of the royal decree

In the port of Cavite, July twenty-nine, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, Don Juan Niño de Tavora, knight of the Order of Calatrava, comendador of Puerto Llano, member of his Majesty's Council of War, his governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia therein, having seen this copy of the royal decree which his Majesty gave at the petition of Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the habit of Santiago – who presented himself before his Lordship in his own behalf, and petitioned that it be observed and obeyed – and attentive to the fact that the said copy was authorized by a notary of his Majesty, and at-

tested by three other notaries: ordered – and he did so order – the contents of the said copy of the said royal decree to be observed and obeyed; and that the said Don Fernando avail himself of it, leaving an agent appointed to attend to the said obligations of the said encomienda. The judges and royal officials shall note the decree in the books under their charge, and shall observe and obey it, as is contained therein, in behalf of the royal treasury. Thus did he enact; and he signed the same, together with his counselor.

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

LICENTIATE DON RODRIGO GONÇALES DE BARREDA

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Collated with the copy of the royal and original act from which it was copied. It is an accurate and exact copy, and agrees with the original, which was returned on the part of the said Don Fernando de Silva, in order to take account of it in the royal accountancy. This copy was made in Manila at his request, July twenty-seven, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine; witnesses being Francisco de Silva and Don Juan Martin, residents of Manila.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO, royal notary.

Act of the royal Audiencia

In the city of Manila, July twenty-seven, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, the president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands having examined these acts in regard to the demand of his Majesty's fiscal in this royal Audiencia that Don Fernando de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, former governor and captain-general and president of this royal Audiencia of these said islands, give bonds to furnish residencia,

for himself and his agents and servants, for the period while he exercised the said offices, and to pay the sum to which he should be adjudged and sentenced, leaving behind a person with accepted powers; and the appeal interposed by the said Don Fernando de Silva from the act enacted by this royal Audiencia, on the twenty-fourth of this present month, in which this cause was returned to the lord governor and captain-general, so that, as a competent judge, he might enact what might be justice in it, etc.: declared that, notwithstanding the said appeal, they must confirm – and they did confirm – the said act of this royal Audiencia, with the declaration that the said return be, and be understood, in order that the said lord governor and captain-general may declare whether or not he [the said Don Fernando] must give bonds to the said fiscal of his Majesty. Thus they did enact, order, and decree.

Before me:

PEDRO MUÑOZ DE HERRERA

Act of the governor

In the port of Cavite, July twenty-eight, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, Don Juan Niño de Tavora, governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia therein; having examined these acts and the demand of the fiscal of his Majesty concerning Don Fernando de Silva giving bonds to furnish residencia for the period while he governed these islands, and for his agents and servants, and to pay the sum to which he should be adjudged and sentenced; the other things which he has petitioned; the return of these acts to his Lordship by the royal Audiencia in

an act which they passed at [the reception of] the appeal by the said Don Fernando de Silva; another act passed by the said royal Audiencia, that, as a competent judge, the governor should enact what should be justice in this matter; and the copy of the royal decree presented before the said royal Audiencia; said that he declared – and he did declare – that his Lordship was not a competent judge in this cause to declare or order whether the said Don Fernando should or should not give the bonds which the said fiscal has demanded for the said residencia, or for any other thing pertaining to it; and that the fiscal should plead in this regard what he should have to plead before whom and with what right he can and ought. Thus did he enact and order, and he signed the same, by the advice of his counselor.

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

LICENTIATE DON RODRIGO GONÇALES DE BARREDA

Before me:

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO

Collated with the original acts, which rest at present in these archives of the office of government under my charge. This copy is accurate and exact, according to the originals. At the command of the said lord governor and captain-general, I ordered to be drawn and drew this copy, in the port of Cavite, July twenty-eight, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine; witnesses being Don Juan Martin and Francisco de Silva. In testimony of truth, I signed and sealed it.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO, royal notary.

We, the undersigned notaries, testify that Andres Martin del Arroyo, by whom this copy appears to be

signed and sealed, is a notary of the king our sovereign, and exercises the office of notary-in-chief of government and war of these islands. To his copies, acts, and despatches, entire faith and credit is and has been given in and out of court. Given in Cavite, July thirty, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine.

LUIS DE TORRES, royal notary.
PEDRO DE VALDES, royal notary.
AUGUSTIN DE VALENZUELA, notary-public.

RELATION OF 1629-30

Relation of events in the Filipinas Islands and other surrounding regions, from the month of July, 1629, until that of 1630.

I shall commence the affairs of these islands with the expedition to Jolo. It is an island of this archipelago, rebellious for years past; and its natives, who are Mahometans, have made a thousand incursions against us in these islands, pillaging whenever opportunity arises, burning villages and churches, and capturing numerous people.

In order to remedy all these evils, Governor Don Juan Niño de Tabora determined to equip a powerful fleet in order to destroy that enemy and conquer a stronghold which nature has made in their island – so lofty and so difficult of approach, that there is no better stone castle; for the approach to it is by one path, and it has some artillery which defends it. The people are courageous and warlike. For our fleet were collected one galley, three brigantines, twelve freight champans (which are like small pataches), and about fifty caracoas. The last named are the usual craft of these islands, and generally have thirty or forty oars on a side. All these vessels together carried about four hundred Spaniards and two thousand five hundred Indians, and they had considerable

apparatus and war supplies. It was quite sufficient for another conquest of greater importance than the one on which they were going.

All that fleet departed, then, from the port of Dapitan on March 17. Dapitan is the port nearest to the enemy, and the island of Jolo was reached in [*blank space in the Ventura del Arco MS.*] days. At dawn our men were landed, and began the ascent to the stronghold. The master-of-camp, Don Lorenzo de Olaso, who was commander-in-chief of the fleet, preceded the men. The Joloans defended their stronghold with valor. They killed some of our men and wounded eight, among them the master-of-camp himself. He was overthrown, as if dead, and went rolling down the hill. However, he was not dead, but only wounded, nothing more. Our men retired on the run, and to speak plainly, such terror entered into them that they did not dare to attack again. They skirted the island in their craft, entered the villages, burned, wrecked, destroyed them, and killed a few people. They brought back some captives with them whom the Joloans had taken from us. A violent storm overtook them, which compelled them to weigh anchor, and they retired stealthily. Thus so powerful a fleet as that was lost. It was such a fleet that never has one like it been made for the Yndias in these islands. The Joloan enemy were left triumphant, and so insolent that we fear that they will make an end of the islands of the Pintados – which are the nearest ones to them, and which they infest and pillage with great facility.

"A greater force than ever attacked Malaca from Achen – two hundred and twenty craft; and among them thirty-three were of stupendous size and re-

sembled galleys with topsails, while others were medium-sized and smaller; and they carried a force of nineteen thousand men of the best picked soldiers, who were all ordered not to return alive without taking Malaca. They disembarked at a river one-half legua from here. Then they began to march with great trenches, ramparts, and other devices until they neared the walls. After taking the mount of San Francisco, they fortified themselves on it, and for the space of four months they continued to batter the walls of the city. Our artillery harassed them from the ramparts also, although the trenches and terrepleins did not allow us to do them much harm. They destroyed all the side of Yben, Bocachina, and San Lorenzo, and did not leave a house, palm-tree, or church. Then they attempted to pass to the Malaca side in order to destroy its suburbs, and to attack the walls on all sides. In order to make use of all their men, they beached all their ships in the mire of the river. That was their total destruction, for the reënforcements arrived on October 21, from Yndia, with Nuño Alvarez Botello – who succeeded in the government to the bishop who was governing and died; he had thirty-three oared vessels and one thousand Portuguese soldiers, the flower of the nobility and soldiery of Yndia. Thereupon the enemy retired to the river where their fleet was stationed. The governor, without disembarking, took his station in the entrance, where he cannonaded them for forty-six days with all of his artillery. He had some very heavy artillery which he had brought from Yndia, which he fired from some barges that he had built. He harassed them so greatly with these guns that, although the

enemy attacked him in order to get out, they were unable; and finally surrendered, or fled to the mountains and forests, one night. A great number of them remained in our hands, and the others in the hands of the king of Pan and those of Malay friends who aided us. They abandoned a quantity of spoils, all their ships, artillery, etc., so that of the nineteen thousand men there did not remain any who could rightfully carry back the news. The Portuguese collected three hundred pieces of artillery, counting large and small, with which the fortress was well supplied, and artillery was sent to other parts. The versos, falcons, and arquebuses which they captured were without number. It was a glorious victory which our Lord gave to this city of Malaca. The neighboring kings who were subject to Achen immediately resolved to render homage, by sending their ambassadors." Thus far Father Azevedo.[8]

After having gained the victory against the people of Achen, Nuño Alvarez Botello determined to remain to winter in the region of the south. He sent some ships to Java; and with them a large galleon belonging to the enemy, and the commander and captains who were captured. He kept twenty-three of his galliots, with seven hundred picked men, in order to go in pursuit of the Dutch.

He commenced at Humbe, thirty leguas from Malaca, where the Dutch have a factory for pepper. There were two Dutch ships at the bar [of the river]

[8] The above matter in quotation marks, as appears from a footnote in the Ventura del Arco MS., is taken from a letter written by Father Manuel Azevedo, rector of Manila, May 3, 1630. Evidently "Manila" is an error for "Malaca," and the letter was probably written to Manila, and the above section embodied in the relation written from that place.

which went out to meet him. The Portuguese attacked the Dutch ship, which was a very handsome one, and had come from Holanda the year before. They gave it a volley which fell into a quantity of cartridges and powder, whereupon the ship blew up, although some of the Dutch who fell into the water were picked up. Then the Portuguese assailed the other ship, captured it, and sent it to Malaca. They saw that there was another large ship in the mouth of the river, and attacked that one. The Dutch who were aboard deserted it. The Portuguese captured the artillery, ammunition, and other things in the ship, and set it afire.

Learning that there was another ship [up the] river, and that it was lading pepper, the Portuguese determined to go to capture it. They entered the river, attacked the ship, and, without their knowing how, it blew up. As the ship sank, a powerful suction was formed, and drew after it the Dutch [*i.e.*, one of the captured ones] skiff in which the commander, Nuño Alvarez Botello, was giving his orders. The brave gentleman was drowned there, without any one being able to help him; and with him were also drowned his good intentions, and all that that fleet expected to do.

In consequence of the persecution of the king of Conchinchina against the missionaries [9] – because the commerce of Macao had been lacking for some time, and on account of the great drought that lasted for the space of fourteen months – Governor Don Juan Niño de Tabora ordered an embassy to be sent to the said king, and for that purpose sent Father Antonio

[9] See account of the establishment of this mission, in VOL. XVIII, p. 213.

Cardin with some presents. The father reached Turon, and thence went to Sinao, the court of the king. The king took the presents from him, but notwithstanding that received him with very ill grace; and, without conceding him what he asked, made him retire to Macao.

[To the above relation for the years 1629-1630 (which seems to be merely a synopsis or abstract, and not a copy of the original document) is appended the following from another and later relation:]

In the years from July, 1630, until that time in 1632, says a relation, there was great peace, and the Filipinas Islands prospered; for aid from Holanda failed the Dutch, and their forces were too few to trouble the Spanish possessions of the archipelago and the Malucas. However the quiet was disturbed in the province of Caraga, where the Indians revolted, and assassinated the Spaniards and the Recollect religious who were instructing them. The leaders of the revolt were punished, and the Indians gradually subdued.

LETTERS FROM TAVORA TO FELIPE IV

News of the Japon fleet, and of the fortifications which were built on that occasion, without any expense to your Majesty.

Sire:

I gave your Majesty an account in July of last year, 629, by way of Nueva España, of the condition in which were war affairs in these islands; and again in November, by way of Yndia, I added such new events as had occurred up to that time. What there is to write now is that we were advised in March of this year, 630, from Macan by the ship "Trinidad," which sailed thence, that the Japanese were still angry over the burning of their junk by our men in the port of the kingdom of Sian in the year 628, as I have written in other letters; and that they were constructing large fleets to avenge themselves on our port and fort in the island of Hermosa, and on the city and coasts of Manila. It was asserted that the Japanese had forty thousand men in various ships of the Dutch and Portuguese which they had embargoed, and in a great number of their own vessels. I thought it uncertain news, because of my knowledge of the nature of the Japanese; yet I resolved to make use of it to further the fortification of this city and

its environs. I suggested to the Chinese that they perform some service for his Majesty for the relief of that necessity, from their communal fund. They gave four thousand pesos, with which, and by means of other efforts, I built two cavaliers and a bit of covered way with its ledge of stone, they being built of incorruptible wood, while other enclosures and preparations were erected in Cavite. With them and with the fortifications which, as I wrote, were constructed last year on another similar occasion, this city remains well fortified. And I trust, with God's help, that when I leave here there will be much better fortifications, so that the city of Manila and the port of Cavite may be safer with few soldiers than they were before with many. On account of the same news, the fortification of the island of Hermosa was also urged forward. The commandant, Don Juan de Alcaraso, who has it in charge, writes me that he was in such condition that he did not fear the Japanese, even though they should come with as great a force as was reported. The Dutch will be able to cause greater anxiety if they should return this year to the port of Tanchuy, as they did last. I am preparing aid, not so much as our people there ask and need, but in accord with the little aid which has come to me from Nueva España.

It has been learned from a ship of Chinese which arrived here afterward, and which sailed by stealth from the kingdom of Japon, that the imprisoned Portuguese, the Dutch, and their stranded ships were still detained there, and that there was no movement of the fleet. [*In the margin*: "Give him thanks for what he has done, and [tell him] that provision has been made in regard to the junk."]

Aid for Terrenate

I sent the usual aid for the forts of Terrenate in the middle of November this year, as that season is the true monsoon. It was sent in two ships which had just arrived from Nueva España, together with a patache. All three vessels were equipped, and carried a sufficient force, so that they would not have to enter Terrenate by stealth, or fleeing from the enemy. I was very happy over the despatch, both for this reason and because I saved the cost and preparation of the pataches in which this aid is generally taken. God our Lord was pleased that, while the vessels were at a distance of two leguas from a port of these islands where they had to lade rice and other products, they should be struck by a very violent squall, which forced them to drag all their anchors, and the storm carried them immediately until they grounded. The flagship ran aground in the sand; but, the masts having been cut down, it and the patache were put out of danger. The almiranta grounded on reefs, where it was instantly shivered into pieces. Its mast fell in such a favorable manner that it could be used as a bridge by the men, who were all saved by that means. After the storm was over, there was opportunity to remove the artillery, the silver, and a goodly portion of the food which the ship was carrying. Consequently, the loss was only of the boat, which was quite old. The two remaining ones were refitted, and proceeded on their way. Inasmuch as they could not take all the provisions necessary, I despatched another patache from this city, but it was also wrecked on these coasts. The men and provisions were saved, and the wreck was not due to the fault of those who had charge

of the patache, as was proved by the trial held regarding it. I immediately despatched another patache – for in the matter of aid I leave no stone unturned – which performed the voyage. All three vessels have returned from Terrenate, where they entered at a very convenient season; because a number of our men having left our forts, by order of Governor Pedro de Heredia, to effect a junction with the men of Tidore in the town of the Ternatans, which lies under the guns of the enemy, the latter withdrew to their forts the ship which was awaiting the relief from us. That relief entered Terrenate the same day on which the enemy withdrew. After the silver and food were unladed, it was planned to sally out with the flagship of the relief fleet, to fight with the enemy's ship; and this would have been put into execution if two other ships had not come to their aid that same night, which made a force very superior to ours. It was reported that there were thirty Dutch ships in the island of Ambueno, and that half of them were coming to Terrenate to make a Moro, whom they wished to introduce into the government, king of the natives; and that the others were coming to the coasts of China, the island of Hermosa, and perhaps Manila.

That enemy has had very little power in this sea for the last two or three years. I am now informed by letters that eighteen ships have come to them from Europa, and that the Javanese have raised the siege of Jacatra, by which the Dutch will remain more free to annoy us. [*In the margin*: "[Tell him] that what he says has been noted; and that he proceed in everything with the prudence that is expected from him."]

That the convoying of the Chinese fleet by two galleons of this state is being discussed, as that has been asked by the viceroy of Yndia.

The count of Linnares, who has just arrived to govern Yndia, requests me to send three galleons to convoy the galliots which are bound from Macan to Yndia, and which are called "the Chinese fleet," granting for the expenses certain accommodations in the duties on merchandise and the freight charges of the same trading fleet. I have discussed the matter with the auditors, and in the Council of War. Although it is impossible to do all that the viceroy asks, I am arranging to have at least two galleons go, as the majority of votes were in favor of it; and because it fits well with the determination of last year to send a galleon to Goa for anchors and other supplies which it is necessary to bring from that place. The principal reason is to oblige that viceroy thereby to join his galleons with those of this state, in order to make for once some considerable showing of force against the enemy. [*In the margin*: "Let it be understood that it is regarded as certain that the decisions which he shall make will be formed with the prudence and consideration that are expected from him."]

Deeds of Nuño Alvarez Botello in Malaca

Nuño Alvarez Botello had very good fortune against the enemy in capturing two ships and burning two other large and heavily equipped ones close to the factory of Jambi, which is near Jacatra. Much greater luck did he have in raising the siege of Malaca, with the capture and slaughter of nineteen thousand Moros from Achen who held the city closely beset. However both events were tempered by the

death of the said captain, as your Majesty is advised through the Council of Portugal by letters from Malaca, which are enclosed with this one. [*In the margin*: "Let account of all this be given to his Majesty, although a very detailed account of the affair will be given by the Council of Portugal."]

Expedition made to the islands of Jolo and Mindanao

Another sort of enemies whom these islands have are the Moros of certain kingdoms near them. Those who have been most insolent and unbridled since my arrival in this government are the inhabitants of the kingdom of Jolo. For their punishment (in addition to the punishment inflicted two years ago) a fleet was prepared this year of three hundred and fifty Spaniards and two thousand five hundred Indians, under command of Don Lorenço Olasso, master-of-camp of this army. After a long and troublesome voyage, he arrived late at the island and chief stronghold where the king lives. They found the village dismantled, and the king and his chiefs and the majority of his men retired to a very steep hill which they have fortified for that purpose. He attacked them at daybreak, confident that their lack of caution would facilitate his entrance, and that the short time remaining in which to perform that exploit would suffice. Within a very short time he gained as far as the crest of the hill, where the stout enclosure and works of the enemy were. And if, as he himself fought, there had been others to assist him, he would have entered the place and captured the king and all his household and chiefs. On the part of our Spaniards and Indians the necessary spirit was not exerted. The enemy held the stronghold sufficiently

well in their defense, and with the advantage of location; and did considerable damage to our men with their artillery, spears, and other missile weapons. On that account it was deemed better to withdraw the men from the hill and to abandon the undertaking for the time, and to employ the army in burning the villages and leveling the fields round about. In doing that there were many frays with the enemy, and many of the people were killed, so that it is thought that they are severely punished. The weather did not allow the enterprise to be carried to a more satisfactory conclusion.

The fleet went from that place to the island of Mindanao, which is one of the largest islands of this archipelago, while its king is one of the most powerful enemies that these natives have had. Just now he is friendly, and the peace was confirmed with the coming of the master-of-camp, so that I trust that it will last for some years. I have increased the pay of the officers and private soldiers who distinguished themselves on that occasion, while I am trying to reduce that of those who did not, so that it may serve as a warning. [*In the margin*: "When we learn the resolution which he has taken, let report of this be made to his Majesty."]

Reduction of the Cagayan Indians

Cagayan affairs are in better condition than formerly. Some Indians have already been reduced to the obedience of your Majesty, and the others are being pressed to render it. I hope for a good result. May our Lord give the outcome which He knows to be most desirable. May He preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, with increase of

kingdoms and states, as we your vassals desire and as Christendom needs. Manila, July 30, 1630. Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

[*In the margin*: "It is well. Have a copy of this letter sent to his Majesty, so that he may be informed of everything."]

Government touching judicial and military matters

Sire:

After having concluded my despatch, and while awaiting that of the royal Audiencia in order to sign it (they having before communicated with me in session concerning the matters of which they were to write), I learned that the auditors had sealed the letter, and that they were sending it by a different way, as they did not wish me to see or sign it. That is a singular innovation; but, in order to avoid greater disturbances, I undertook, while they were assembled, to tell them what evil they were doing in trying to make such an innovation, which was so unsuitable; for I would not hinder them from writing freely whatever they might judge fitting to the royal service of your Majesty, nor would I be angry if their opinion were different from mine. Neither were they to write anything which should be untrue, and which I could not see; thus would they avoid interrupting by such innovation the peace and concord with which we had lived during these four years. I entreated them to comply with the obligations of their office, namely, to live in harmony with their president, and to write their opinion with the truth that is required, showing that malice does not move them but only the desire of right action. [I told them that] they should

do as in previous years, namely, allow me to sign the letter. I warned them of the disservice which is being done to your Majesty in the president and auditors not being in accord; and I protested to them that it was they who were declaring war, since they were persisting in trying to make me suspect that they were writing things against me which they did not dare to say to me. That is the manifestation which they might make in case of any treachery or knavery on my part. They had little to answer to these arguments, but for all that they were not willing to regulate their conduct as they should, but to persevere in their theme. That would have obliged me to make the demonstration which the case demanded, had I not considered rather the service of your Majesty than the action which the vehemence of their passions deserves.

Attack on the orders of the government, by the auditors commanding the royal officials to pay them their thirds [of salary], notwithstanding any order of government.

2. Jointly with this they made another attack on the government, namely, to notify the royal officials by an act that they should immediately pay them their thirds [of salary] notwithstanding any order that they might have to the contrary, as such was not from your Majesty. That they said because of the order of the government that nothing be paid without its decree. That order was given by all my predecessors, and the auditors themselves ratified it when they were governing, as will be seen by the enclosed records. I resented this action, because of their boldness in trying to oppose the orders of the government,

and because of the slight foundation which they had for it: for never was more owing to them than the third for April, as the treasury is without a real at this time; and we do not have in the entire city any place to get the money, and with great difficulty are we able to get a meager aid for the soldiers and sailors. That third is paid the auditors in June or July, which is the time when the silver comes from Nueva España. And now because it arrived about ten days ago, and their third has not been paid them, because I am here in Cavite, attending to the despatch of the ships, they were so impatient that, not having taken the trouble to remind me of their need so that I might order them paid immediately, they enacted the act above mentioned – a copy of which, together with the reply of the royal officials, I herewith enclose. Last year they themselves asked me not to pay them the April third until that for August was due, as they wished to receive them together. That shows how little inconvenience follows their not having received it this year in the month of July. Surely, all these actions are the offspring of their natures, [and show the] duplicity and deceit with which they are arming themselves in order to break the peace, perhaps because they have seen that the inspector who was expected did not come this or last year, at whose coming I was hoping to have rest. But since he has not come, it will be necessary for me to do myself what I wished to have done by the hand of another – namely, to give the auditors to understand the respect which they ought to have for their governor and president. This said, I shall now go on to answer the points of the letter which I have heard from them themselves, and which they say are the

ones which they wrote to your Majesty. In passing, I shall answer to that Council the chief complaints, which, I suppose, are the ones that may oppose my method of governing. It is no little consolation that all of them have to do with points or controversies of justice, and not defects which transgress my obligations; for it is those that could give me some pain.

That it is not advisable that the royal Audiencia carry the burden of visiting the prison of Tondo and that of the Parián of the Chinese.

3. The first point is in respect to the royal Audiencia petitioning that it be ordered that they visit the prisons of the village of Tondo and of the Parián of the Sangleys. This does not appear just; for although those prisons are near Manila, and inside the district of the five leguas to which the [jurisdiction of the] Audiencia extends (which is the argument on which they take their stand), still those places have their alcaldes-mayor, and are separate jurisdictions, and it belongs to those officials to make their visitation of prisons as the Audiencia do in theirs. It is true that the alcaldes-in-ordinary and those of the court (who are the auditors themselves) arrest in Tondo and in the Parián by virtue of the five leguas; but they do not put the prisoners in the prisons of those courts, but in that of the court, or the prison of this city. The example which they have cited to me – namely, that the prisons of the suburbs of Mexico are visited on Saturdays by the auditors – is not well taken in this case; for those prisons are in charge of the corregidor, and separate, because the city is large and needs those different prisons. But the prison of Tacubaja, which is one-

half legua or slightly more from the city, is not visited by the Audiencia, because it has its own alcalde-mayor. And it is certain that because Sangleys are confined in these prisons of Tondo and the Parián, the royal Audiencia is claiming the right to visit them, for all their anxiety is to acquire very full authority over that people. I have written your Majesty enough on this point. It would be advisable for your service to have this royal Audiencia prohibited from trying any cause concerning the Sangleys.

Causes for accepting the resignation of the reporter of the Audiencia from his office.

4. The second point is in regard to their saying that I accepted the resignation of Licentiate Umaña, reporter of this royal Audiencia, from his office. It is a fact that the reasons which he gave me for it obliged me to do so – not so much on account of his lack of health and eyesight, although he has that, as for the ill-treatment inflicted upon him by the auditors, without its being possible for me to give him any relief in it, as I am not always at the meetings. The auditors are insufferable; and, although this man had served in this capacity for many years, they finally had him so harassed that they daily sought numberless excuses by which to avoid coming to the Audiencia. And inasmuch as it is difficult to struggle all one's life in one thing which concerns the ordinary despatch of business, I thought it less inconvenient to accept this resignation. In the meanwhile, until your Majesty shall provide a remedy, they have been allowed to select whomever there is in the city. But no one satisfies them; be-

cause, as there is no one who can endure them, there is no lawyer of high standing who will accept the office.

That the auditors are giving malicious information when they say that the governor prevents a report of the government suits from being made to the royal Audiencia.

5. The third point is that the auditors complain that I do not allow any report of the government suits to be made to the Audiencia. As a sample, they cite an appeal made by the friars of St. Augustine from the edict, issued at the petition of the city, ordering all the Sangley shopkeepers to be collected in the Parián. Although that was a necessary measure, and the royal Audiencia had no right to meddle in a matter so manifestly belonging to the government as the residence of the Sangleys in this or in that part, yet I am not doing nor did I do what they say in this matter, about preventing the report to be made – as will be seen by the acts which I enclose herewith, and which are cited in the letter on government affairs, which mentions this point. By those acts will be seen the very opposite of what they tell me that they have written.

That those appointed to judicial offices be lawyers

6. The fourth point is that they say that there are few advocates in this royal Audiencia, as I always keep them occupied in judicial posts, which ought to be kept for men of merit. The truth is that there are not more than five lawyers in all the islands; and that in the four years while I have governed here I

have not occupied in judicial offices more than two – namely, Doctor Juan Fernandez de Ledo, in the Parián (which is an office that does not prevent him from exercising the profession of the law, since he does that in this same city, and already his term of office is over), and Doctor Luis Arias de Mora (whom I have only occupied in the office at La Laguna de Bay, which is three leguas away, and in which I maintain him because of a petition to that effect from the provincial and religious of St. Francis, who are the ministers in charge of those missions). They have assured me that they have not had an alcalde-mayor for many years who has given more satisfaction in that province. Since La Laguna, whence are brought the timbers for the shipbuilding at Cavite, depends greatly on the religious, and without the latter the Indians would do nothing, and it is important to me to have there a person of great exactness, so that the cutting and sending of wood may not cease, and consequently, the building and repair of the ships; and since there are so few methodical men in this country, when there is one, I try to retain him in office all the time. In regard to appointing lawyers to judicial offices, I have made no innovation, for my predecessors have done the same; and such men can be not less suitable for those offices than soldiers. Here, Sire, there is very little for the lawyers to do, and they starve to death. Since they are citizens and have married in the country, they must be supported, at least so that the governors may have someone with whom to consult in regard to the doubts which arise with the auditors. That is the reason for the ill-will that the latter show toward them.

Whence arises the opposition of the auditors to the concession of the winepresses which have been granted to the seminary for orphan boys.

7. The fifth point is that they talk of the concession of the Sangley winepresses which have been conceded to the seminary for orphan boys. For justification of that, I refer to a section of the letter which I am writing on this matter in the letter regarding government affairs, and to the papers which are cited in that letter, which are clear enough. I know that the opposition shown to this is managed by Licentiate Marcos Çapata, who, as he has but lately been invested with authority, has been actively engaged in attacking these winepresses, as he thought that he was performing a great service to the community; and as it has been made clear that the disadvantages of the matter are not of the importance that he imagined, he is somewhat piqued. I beseech your Majesty to consider this point and not to allow any ill-will to disturb so excellent a work as is the completion of the seminary for these boys, without any cost to the royal revenues and without any damage to the community.

Report on the permission to gamble which is given to the Chinese during their festival.

8. The sixth point is that they speak of the permit which is given to the Sangleys to gamble during the fortnight of their festival.[10] They allege that it is a pernicious thing for the community. I, Sire, have

[10] The festival here mentioned would seem, from its length, to mean the two feasts observed by the Chinese in the first month of the year – New Year's and the "feast of lanterns." See accounts of these and other feasts in Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, ii, pp. 76-84; and Winterbotham's *Chinese Empire*, ii, pp. 49, 50, 138-142.

been even more strict in this than were my predecessors, who introduced it at petition of the Sangleys themselves, in order to keep them quiet and in order to avoid greater troubles, as that nation is by nature excessively addicted to gambling. It seems conformable to reason that if they are not permitted to play during the year, it be conceded to them for their festival, which is the time of their holidays. Your Majesty has ordered that the infidels be allowed to live according to their own customs in everything which is not contrary to natural law, or opposed to the good example of the Christians in whose land they live. It seems very conformable to law and to good government to keep these men contented and quiet, and this is being done. This country cannot get along without infidel Sangleys, for they are the ones who bring us food from China. Consequently, it is necessary to allow them to live in their own manner in all things which are not prejudicial to the faith and to the light of reason. Gaming is a matter of indifference, and although it is true that, if it be indulged in to excess, the troubles follow which are experienced in these Sangleys, yet those troubles are not to be laid to the one who gives them the permission to indulge reasonably in a diversion. It is known as a well-ascertained fact that the Sangleys will gamble, whether with or without license; and that there are not wanting citizens, and even sons and relatives of auditors, who will shield them for it. Hence I have considered it as less troublesome to give them a moderate permission (such as that which is granted to them for their festival), and to try to prevent the danger of incurring other and greater troubles by making the Sangleys restless and discon-

tented, and gaming secretly all the year in the houses or gateways of private persons. It is true that some friars have preached against this; but I ordered one of them, who is considered as the most learned, to give me in writing his reasons for opposing this. Having also consulted with my confessor and with other theologians, who were of opinion that this was not a matter for burdening the conscience (and I do not know why the auditors should think that the religious who gave this opinion allowed themselves to be carried away by their desire to flatter me, charging their own consciences in order to save mine), I am rather persuaded that he who preached the contrary was induced to do so by his own or another's prejudice in opposition to the government. The opinions of both sides are in my possession, with full relation of everything that there is bearing on this subject. If your Majesty wish, they can be sent you very easily; and I would have done so immediately, if they had not reminded me of this complaint at so critical a time.

The foundation for the complaint of the auditors that the governor does not allow them to visit the provinces.

9. The seventh point. I am advised also that the auditors write that I do not allow them to go to visit the provinces. I am not aware that this subject has been discussed in my time. Neither do I know whether the execution of it would be convenient in districts where the Indians are so poor and so burdened with repartimientos and shipyards, the conveyance of food and products, and other things which are unavoidable in the service of your Majesty. If in addition to all that, they were to be burdened with the

expense of the visit of an auditor, they would become still more crushed. However, I shall not shut the door in this matter; and if I shall find it necessary for the service of your Majesty to send some auditor to the provinces, it shall be done. However, I am quite sure that it will not be very easy for them to go to the most needy provinces, which are the poorest and most remote.

That there is a special book in which to inscribe the opinion of the Audiencia when appointments are discussed with them.

10. The eighth point. In regard to the appointments to the judicial offices and encomiendas, they say that I discuss them with the royal Audiencia in accordance with the decree in which your Majesty orders that, but that their opinions are not written down. Although I am not aware that the decree orders such a thing – since it only says that if the auditors are of a contrary opinion, what the governor resolves shall be done, and they shall advise your Majesty of their opinion – yet a book has been kept ready, in which to inscribe those opinions. I do not know that any occasion has arisen where it was necessary, for of all the propositions which I have made only one has been contradicted by all the Audiencia, and which I tried to execute, although they were of the contrary opinion. In the end, I did not execute it, yielding to their judgment, and thus there was nothing to write.

The little reason that the auditors have for complaining to the city of the appointment of admiral, which was given to Captain Diego Lopez Lobo.

11. The ninth and last point that they tell me is

written in this letter is, to petition your Majesty to order that, since the posts of commander and admiral are of the most importance of all that are provided in these islands, appointments to them be subject to consultation with the Audiencia. For this, I am told that they take occasion from the appointment that I have made this year of admiral in the person of Captain Diego Lopez Lobo – alleging that he is not a citizen but a foreigner, and that he is interested in the capture of the Siamese junk, which they say is reported to be valued at more than three hundred thousand pesos. Commencing with this last, what they say is outside of all truth, as will appear by the accounts made by the accountant and adjuster of accounts, Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, whose certification I enclose herewith. What Captain Diego Lopez Lobo did was to capture that junk and bring it to Manila, in which he is so far from having incurred displeasure, that on the contrary, by that action alone, he merited the place of admiral which is given him; for, besides having attained what was ordered him, he conducted himself so honestly in the capture of the vessel that neither for himself nor for others did he allow anything of importance to be taken – putting aboard it a trustworthy commander with ten soldiers, who brought the junk as it was to Manila, without wasting any of the merchandise. Thus did he obey the order given him that there should be no sack, but that he should bring it as he had found it, with all fidelity; since it was not taken as an absolute prize, but by way of reprisal, as I have written in another letter. In regard to the said Diego Lopez Lobo not being a Castilian citizen but a Portuguese (which has been the rock of offense to auditors and citizens, and the motive which has in-

duced the city to complain to your Majesty), I am not aware that it is a crime or a demerit to be a Portuguese. Diego Lopez is a son of the second Lopez Lobo, a nobleman, of the rank that can be easily ascertained in that Council. He went to East Yndia in the service of your Majesty, where he lived for ten years. Thence he came to these islands, where I found him serving worthily with a company of infantry, which had been given him by Don Fernando de Silva during the year while he governed here. During all that year and the four of my government, he has had his house and dwelling in Manila, which seems to be sufficient for him to call himself a citizen. Opportunity lately offered to send him to that court to discuss the union of the posts and arms of the South Sea, about which I am writing in a separate letter. As he is a man who had been under both crowns of Portugal and Castilla, and because of his rank and good qualities I thought there was no other to whom I could better trust a matter of so great moment. Imagining that, as it was a service for your Majesty, the city would consider it favorably, I gave him charge of that matter. But since there is no other aim than self-interest, there are few who yield their own advantage for the common welfare and the service of your Majesty. Eight or nine citizens – all encomenderos, the least of whom has four hundred and fifty-six tributes – without their having killed many Moros, [a service] for which they ought to claim a post for Castilla, presented a petition to the city, signed by their names, by which they asked the city to oppose the said choice. The city accepted the petition, and sent it to me at my council, with a number of the decrees of your Majesty, which discuss the

matter of appointment to the posts of commander and admiral – as if I had not seen them, or looked to see whether the person of Diego Lopez had place among them. The post of commander was granted to a citizen, the most honored of the most honored in this city. The post of admiral for the return voyage (which is an advantageous post) was given to another citizen, also married in this city, and one of its worthy men. Only the outward trip has been granted to Diego Lopez, so that he may come before the eyes of your Majesty more fittingly, since the advantage is not more than one-half the pay and accommodation of his own post. Eight or nine citizens who enjoy good incomes (one of them has two or three thousand pesos), without being better knights or soldiers than Diego Lopez, complain. It was all contrived by one or two uneasy spirits, simply to make merits, from vengeance at not having succeeded in obtaining the office of stewardship of the city, and who claimed to negotiate for a certain person who was not suitable. Here whatever differs from and opposes the governor is done with a sinister intention, and not through zeal for the public welfare. The gist of the petition is enclosed herewith, in case that the city shall forget to send it. I petition your Majesty to grant me the favor to have it examined; and that in consideration of the criticism which they attempt to make in it on the loyalty and fidelity of the Portuguese nation, and of the authority which they are attempting to take in what they say, that they did not willingly oppose the appointment of the captain of infantry, your Majesty will order that the admonition and punishment which their boldness deserves be given to them. I have not as yet done that, in order to avoid greater disturbances

at a time when we are trying to effect a union of Portuguese and Castilian posts and arms in this South Sea. That union is the only means by which to drive the enemy from that sea. At a time when many Castilian soldiers have come to Yndia, and when there are more than two hundred Portuguese soldiers, alférezes, and captains in the forts of Maluco and Manila, these men [whom I have mentioned] are ill satisfied, and are sowing schisms among them all. Will your Majesty have this examined, and furnish the relief that it requires. And if there be discussion of the matter of pleasing the auditors in what they petition – namely, that the appointments to these posts be conferred upon them – it will be better for your Majesty to order that the posts be given to their sons and brothers, who are the persons for whom they desire them, although those men do not have the merits that are requisite for such places. If they had the merits, it would not be necessary for such men to try to get them.

Origin of the above complaints and others like them

12. It is a foregone conclusion, Sire, in the Yndias more than in other regions, that he who shall govern uprightly will have many rivals; for those who generally come hither come with the desire to hoard up riches. That is the cause which draws them from their native place; but, as wealth is not obtained sometimes as quickly as they would wish, they become resentful. As it is quite natural for mean people to attribute more to themselves than they deserve, nothing satisfies them; and they spend all their time envying what is given to others, and crying down their services and merits, and complaining of the government, by murmuring openly against him who has it

in charge, and accusing him with innumerable testimonials. Some of the inferior officials among those whom your Majesty has in the Yndias do not avoid doing this. Such men desire that their posts be extended in authority and profit – in authority not for the honor, for one does not concern himself about that in the Yndias; but for the profit, which forms their desire and fixed purpose. For if, perchance, there is a servant, relative, or follower to whom is not given all that such an official wishes, and whenever he wishes, and as quickly as he wishes, the friendship is immediately broken, and the royal service pays for it, for such a minister no longer is inclined to it, and only tries to cause it trouble, and to work against whatever the governor proposes.

Efforts which have been made to quiet complaints

13. Knowing this by the experience of four years of government, I have taken all possible measures to regulate as well as possible these malcontents; but since the limits of my duty to God and to your Majesty cannot be overstepped, however much I have desired and tried to please them, I have learned that I am very backward, and that they are accusing me by innumerable testimonials. I petition your Majesty to rest assured that I am serving you with great devotion and with the desire of succeeding in what I owe to my birth. The royal revenues are spent with great circumspection, as will be seen by the accounts sent this year to that royal Council. Military affairs are undertaken after full counsel. My presence in the government is continuous. The community is quiet. The soldiers are in the best state of discipline that can be had. The ships are despatched at the

monsoons. The provinces are reënforced at the proper time. The cloth traded is procured with the help of the neighboring kings, and of all your agents; and your Majesty keeps them occupied both in Yndia and in this archipelago. The Indians are less oppressed than ever, and, as I have written in other years, a great number of burdens have been taken from them. No Spaniard is found who has been ill-treated by words. What there has been to allot has been among many, and all are supported therewith, although discontented. The city has been fortified and beautified. Finally, I assert that I shall not secure from the Philipinas by the end of eight years, if God give me that long life, and your Majesty preserve me in the islands, the dowry which Doña Madalena brought, although I live (as is a fact) so moderately. Granting this, I do not know what more remains or ought to be done.

Permission asked by the governor to leave the Philipinas

14. I have written at this length not for fear of someone having written against me – for to think that no one would do so would be great arrogance – but only to give account to your Majesty of what passes here; to ask pardon for my omissions, and that you will not believe those who are affected by passion; and that you be pleased to withdraw me hence, as I petitioned you last year. The toil endured here is vast, and I have now but little strength and health to be able to endure it, when I have so little success in attaining my loyal desires. My agents will present memorials in that royal Council, in which I beg your

Majesty for some gratuity and accommodations with which to leave this exile. I promise myself a very liberal one from your royal kindness and generosity, in proportion to my services and those of my ancestors and forbears. May our Lord preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, with increase of kingdoms and states, as is necessary to Christendom. Cavite, August 4, 1630. Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

DON JUAN NIÑO DE TAVORA

HISTORIA DE LA ORDEN DE S. AGUSTIN DE ESTAS ISLAS FILIPINAS

By Fray Juan de Medina, O.S.A., Manila, 1893 [but written in 1630].

SOURCE: Translated from a copy of the above work, in the possession of the Editors.

TRANSLATION: This document is translated (and in part synopsized) by James A. Robertson.

HISTORY OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER IN THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS

BY FRAY JUAN DE MEDINA, O.S.A.

History of the events of the order of our great father St. Augustine in these Filipinas Islands, from the time of their discovery and colonization by the Spaniards, with information regarding memorable occurrences. Composed by the venerable father, Fray Juan de Medina,[11] a native of Sevilla, formerly minister to the villages of Ibahay, Aclán, Dumangas, Passi, and Panay, vicar-provincial of that island,[12]

[11] Fray Juan de Medina was born at Sevilla, and entered the Augustinian convent of that city. On reaching the Philippines he was assigned to the Bisayan group, and was known to those natives by the name of " the apostle of Panay." A zealous worker, he was wont on feast days to preach to his flock in three languages – Bisayan, Chinese, and Spanish. He was minister at Laglag in 1613, at Mambúsao in 1615, at Dumangas in 1618, at Panay in 1619, and at Passi in 1623; prior of the convent at Cebú in 1626; and definitor in 1629. After twenty years of missionary labors, being soul-tormented, he asked and secured reluctant permission to return to Spain; but the exigencies of the weather prevented the ship from making its voyage. Three years later he obtained permission to make the same voyage, but died at sea (1635). Diaz, in his *Conquistas*, says that Medina composed many things in aid of his missionary work; but only the present history and four volumes of manuscript sermons in the Panayana language are known with certainty. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 83-85; and Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina*, p. 255.

[12] The island of Panay, in which is a village of the same name. The Augustinian missionaries began their labors in this island in

and prior of the convent of Santo Niño de Cebú. Written by his own hand in the year 1630. The annals of the religious of the order of our father St. Augustine in the Filipinas Islands from the time of their discovery and colonization by the Spaniards by order and command of Don Felipe II, king and sovereign of the Españas.

CHAPTER I

[Medina's narrative opens with the expedition of Legazpi, and the part played therein by the Augustinian Andrés de Urdaneta and his companions. Felipe II, having determined upon an expedition to the western islands, " entrusted the matter to the viceroy of Nueva España, at that time Don Luis de Velasco, a man of so great worth in all matters, that he has never received adequate praise. The king gave him in everything ample and most complete authority to appoint a commander and officials, and to make with them whatever agreements and covenants seemed most advantageous to him and to the royal service. They were always to listen to the advice of father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta. . . . His Majesty stipulated that Urdaneta should, at all hazards, be persuaded to undertake the expedition in person," taking with him such other religious of the same order as he thought best. The king wrote to Urdaneta as follows:]

The King. To the devout father Fray Andrés de

1572, at Otón (or Ogtóng). Their first establishment in the archipelago was at Cebú (1565). Dumangas mission was begun in 1578; Aclán, in 1581; Passi, in 1593; Ibahay, in 1611. All these are in Panay. See list of convents and villages founded by the Augustinians in the Philippines, from 1565 to 1880, at the end of Medina's *Historia*, pp. 481-488.

Urdaneta, of the Order of St. Augustine: I have been informed that, while you were a layman, you accompanied the fleet of Loaysa, and passed through the Strait of Magallanes and the spice region, where you spent eight years in our service. And inasmuch as we have just charged Don Luis de Velasco, our viceroy of that Nueva España, to send two ships to discover the Western Islands in the direction of the Molucas, and to give them instructions how to proceed, in accordance with the instructions given to him; and as, on account of the great store of knowledge that you are said to possess of the affairs of that land, and since you understand, as you do, its navigation, and are a good cosmographer, it would be very conducive to excellent results, both in what relates to the said navigation, and to the service of our Lord, for you to accompany the said ships: I, therefore, ask and charge you to accompany the said ships, and to do what shall be ordered you by the said our viceroy. Beside the service that you will thus render to our Lord, I shall be very greatly served, and shall have account taken of this matter, so that you may receive the favors that offer. Valladolid, September 24, 1559.

I THE KING

By order of his Majesty:

FRANCISCO DE ERASO

[Of Urdaneta, father Fray Estéban de Salazar remarks that "his devotion and sanctity cannot be briefly told, while a book would be required for his military prowess and deeds." He was the foremost navigator of the time, and "had added the wind called *huracán* by sailors to the compass. The sailors

believe that when this wind blows all the other winds, in number thirty-two, are blowing, and that only one wind results, with a whirling direction from pole to pole." A brief review of Urdaneta's life follows. His youth was largely spent in the Italian wars, and his later years in the South Sea. He accompanied Loaysa's expedition in 1525. "Joined to his so wide experience was the fact that he was a man skilled in cosmography and astrology . . . and he was therefore best suited to discover the return passage to Nueva España from those islands, a thing regarded as very difficult, and never yet done, although attempted." He had joined the unfortunate Saavedra expedition at the islands in an attempt to find the return passage, but they were forced to put back to the Moluccas. Shortly after his return to Spain, he went again to New Spain, where, in 1542, "Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza appointed him general of the fleet" of the new expedition. "He begged off, as he loved his quiet, . . . or, because he feared for the success of the expedition. . . . Therefore Ruy López de Villalobos was appointed in his stead; but his voyage was very unfortunate. Afterward, tired of the world, and disillusioned of it, Urdaneta took the habit of our father St. Augustine in the famous convent of México – where he dedicated himself so thoroughly to matters of religion and virtue that one would believe that he had been reared to their observance all the days of his life, so forgetful was he of what he had seen in the world, as if he had never lived in it. But when he seemed to be enjoying the greatest quiet and repose, God drew him from his cell, and placed him in charge of new navigations. . . ."]

Monument in Manila to Legazpi and Urdaneta

[*From a photograph in possession of the Colegio de Agustinos Filipinos, Valladolid*]

CHAPTERS II AND III

[Upon the receipt of the king's letters, the viceroy of New Spain, "with the concurrence of the Audiencia, summoned father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, and after having delivered into his own hands the letter that had come for him from his Majesty, intimated to him the importance of the expedition and the great spiritual advantages that would accrue from it." When urged to accept the trust, Urdaneta responded that he must first communicate with "his superior, who stood to him in place of God." The consent and order of the latter was readily obtained, and Urdaneta accepted the expedition "with so great joy and gladness, that the fire that glowed in his heart was well shown by his eagerness." In continuation of the project, "the viceroy took measures to establish a shipyard in Puerto de la Navidad – one hundred and twenty leguas from the city of Mexico, and situated in nineteen and one-half degrees north latitude – so that three or four ships of different burden might be made;" for this expedition was not only to discover routes, but to colonize and take possession of the islands. By the advice of Urdaneta, "Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, an illustrious gentleman, and one of great prudence and valor, and above all, an excellent Christian," was chosen as commander of the expedition, the viceroy carefully consulting the friar so that a good choice might be made.[12*] In discussing the voy-

[12*] The monument of Legazpi and Urdaneta presented in this volume was the work of the sculptor, Agustín Querol, and of the architect, Luis María Cabello. On the front and rear of the pedestal are the arms of Manila and Spain. On one side are allegorical representations of the sea and valor for Legazpi, and on the other the emblems of science for Urdaneta. The pedestal ends above in a border upon which are the names of Magallanes, Elcano, Jofré de Loaisa, and Villalobos. This monument is due to Señor

age, Urdaneta " proposed that they should first go to discover Nueva Guinea. He expressed the great advantages that would arise from this, the chief being that it could be the stepping-place to the whole world. Nueva Guinea is near the equator, and stretches east three hundred leguas and north five or six degrees. On this account it has been doubted whether it is mainland, because it extends so far toward the Salomon Islands[13] or the Straits of Magallanes. However, now that the opposite coast of Magallanes has been navigated the doubt has been destroyed, and it has been discovered that it is not a continuation of that land, but an island surrounded by the water of the South Sea. Father Urdaneta had discovered this island in company with Alvaro de Saavedra. In the year of 28, he returned to this land and anchored, when wrecked by terrible storms that they experienced, which forced them to return. Then they did not land, but from the coast, the island appeared very pleasant, and displayed good anchorages and ports. Its inhabitants are black, tall, robust, and well built in general. Hence, Father Urdaneta thought it advisable to go to this island first, and make a few entrances, until they could discover its products, and if it were fertile and suitable, to colonize it. If it were not suitable, still, some one of its ports would be of great importance, to serve as a station for all the other expeditions, which they might wish to make to

Gutiérrez de la Vega, who initiated a public subscription during the last years of the Spanish régime for a monument to the two discoverers. As it arrived at Manila where Spanish authority in the islands was tottering or ended, it was placed in position by the Americans. See "España y América," (Augustinian review), for April, 1903, pp. 479-485.

[13] See VOL. XV, p. 102, note 66.

all the islands of the archipelago, which are innumerable and nearly all undiscovered." The viceroy, while not opposing the opinion of the friar, and even giving him to understand that it would be followed, at the end gave a different order.]

[For the voyage the Augustinian provincial, with the concurrence of the other religious, selected the missionaries who were to be "the foundation stones upon which that church was to be established:" the prior, Andrés de Urdaneta; Martín Rada, "the most eminent man in the astrology of that time," who proved of great aid to Urdaneta in scientific lines; Diego Herrera, who was to spend "all his life in the Filipinas, with great temporal and spiritual gain, until at last, he lost his life in the year of 76, when he was drowned;" Andrés de Aguirre, who was also to spend all the rest of his life in the islands, making two journeys to Spain in their interest; Lorenzo Jiménez, "who died while waiting at Puerto de la Navidad to embark;" and Pedro de Gamboa. When all was about in readiness to sail, the viceroy Luis de Velasco died. In eulogizing him, Estéban de Salazar says: "Of his virtue and valor, and his Christian spirit, we cannot speak in sufficiently fitting terms, for he was the light and model of all goodness and for all Christian princes. Although he lived amid the treasures of the Indians so many years, he kept his soul so noble and so uncorrupted, and his hands so continent, that he died poor." Notwithstanding the death of the viceroy, preparations went on. Legazpi, on arriving at port, took inventory of his men, and found that, counting soldiers, sailors, and servants, they amounted to more than four hundred. There were two pataches and two galleys. The flagship was

the "San Pedro," of about four hundred tons' burden; the almiranta was called "San Pablo," and was under command of Mateo del Sar (*sic*). In this vessel embarked Fathers Diego Herrera and Pedro de Gamboa; the others sailed in the flagship. "A grandson of the general, named Felipe de Salcedo, a lad of sixteen, also embarked. He afterward attained great prominence in the islands, and is therefore given special mention here." A native, Pedro Pacheco, brought from the islands on the return of the survivors of the Villalobos expedition, was also taken as interpreter. The two pataches were in command of Alonso de Arellano and Juan de la Isla. After Legazpi had given his instructions to the officers, the fleet set sail November 21, 1564, the men all having invoked the blessing of God upon their voyage.]

CHAPTER IV

Of the voyage made by our religious to the Western Islands

Great undertakings are wont never to lack their obstacles, which although they do not fail to unnerve those of feeble intellect, yet seem to serve only as spurs to the lofty-minded, to make them not abandon what is undertaken; and these latter show greater courage, when Fortune shows herself most contrary. And the devil, when he divines that any work is on foot that may be for the service of the Lord unless he can hinder it, at the very least manages to impede it, and does his utmost to render it of none effect. Thus in this departure, they did not fail to have their misfortunes, but having conquered these by their courageous souls, they continued their voyage. For

four days had they ploughed the waters of the sea, when the general thought it best to open his Majesty's despatch and read the instructions given him, and find the route that he was ordered to take. The instructions were given him under lock and seal, and he was ordered not to open them, until he had sailed at least one hundred leguas. For the opening of the instructions, he had all the men of account in the fleet assembled; they found that, in accordance with his Majesty's decree, they were ordered to go straight to the islands, now called Filipinas. When they were reached, a portion of the army and the religious were to remain there, while Father Urdaneta, with the other portion of the fleet, was to return in order to establish the route, until then unknown, as this was the object and chief purpose of his Majesty. Father Urdaneta was extremely sorry at this, for he had always been given to understand that his opinion would be followed on this voyage. But it was certainly considered best by the Audiencia; for, besides their fulfilling in it his Majesty's will, they observed that the journey to Nueva Guinea embraced many things, and Father Urdaneta could not discover so quickly the return voyage from the Filipinas to Nueva España – and this was the chief aim of that expedition, and the object of greatest importance that was sought.

After they had understood, then, his Majesty's will, by the instructions that were read in their presence, all obeyed them as loyal vassals, and in pursuance thereof, began to lay their course, which with so certain a beginning as that of obedience and the sacrifice of their own wills, already promised a prosperous end. They changed their course, descending to the nineteenth degree, in which lie the islands of Los

Reyes [14] and Corales.[15] From this point they began to take a direct course to the Filipinas. In order to do this, an order was issued to steer west by south, and all the fleet was ordered to do the same, and, as far as possible, not to separate from the flagship. But should the vessels be separated by any storm, they were given to understand that they were to follow the said route, until they made some of the islands of the Filipinas, where they would all meet. Upon this they again invoked the most sweet name of Jesus, and sailed with favoring breezes until they reached the ninth degree; and then the commander again called an assembly to discuss the voyage. There they took the latitude, and all the pilots disagreed by as much as a point of the compass, some of them making it two hundred leguas more than the others; and they could agree on neither the latitude nor the daily runs.

Father Urdaneta asserted that the Corales Islands had already been passed, and that they were farther on their journey. Accordingly he gave orders to make the tenth degree and sail toward the Arrecifes [16] and Matalotes [17] Islands, which are very much far-

[14] Western group of the Carolinas. They were called Los Reyes, because they were discovered on the sixth of January, when the festival of the holy kings is celebrated.– Miguel Coco, O.S.A.

Fray Miguel Coco – born at Zamora in 1860, and a resident in the Philippines during 1881-95 – was editor of Medina's *Historia*, on which he made copious annotations. Many of these we reproduce or synopsize, in English translation, all of which are signed by his name.

[15] The Corales (or Coral), San Estéban, or Jardines Islands are now the northern Carolinas.– Coco.

[16] Now the Palaos.– Coco.

[17] For the name of this latter island, see vol. ii, p. 68. The Spanish editor of Medina, in referring to San Agustin's *Conquistas* (p. 26), where the name of this island is discussed, says

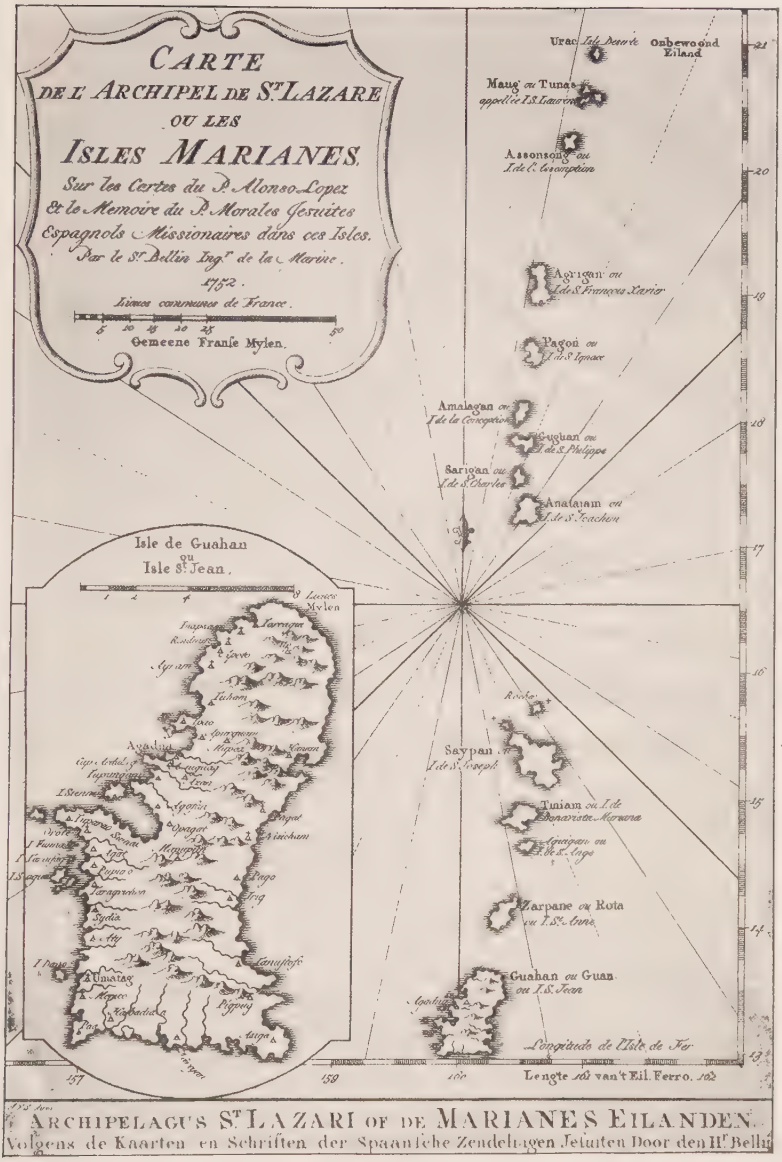
ther. They sailed along this course until January 9, when they discovered land. They went closer to it, and saw a small island, which was seemingly about three leguas in circumference. It was covered with trees and cocoa-palms, but as it was surrounded by reefs, they could not anchor at it. They sailed about the island, and spied a settlement situated among some palms, and some Indians on the shore. But they were likewise unable to anchor there, for, on casting their anchor, they found more than fifteen brazas of water. Finally a small boat was lowered, which contained Father Urdaneta, together with the master-of-camp, Captain Juan de la Isla, and Felipe Salcedo. They reported on their return that those people were friendly, well disposed, and gentle; that they had no manner of weapon, either defensive or offensive; that they were clad in reed mats, very fine and well finished; and that the island contained many excellent fruits, fish, Castilian fowl, and millet. They reported also that the Indians were full-bearded. On this account those islands were called Barbudos. They did not stop at these islands, or at any of the others that they sighted afterward, where, certainly, our religious would leave portions of their hearts, melted with fire and love for their fellow-creatures, to all of whom they would desire to give a portion of the light that they carried, so that those peoples might be withdrawn from their dense darkness. But since now they could do no more, they would commend them to God, so that by His goodness He might open the door for them which He was now about to open to the other islands, for those people had been redeemed no less

wrongly that the name was given by the Legazpi expedition. It is one of the western Carolinas.

than the others. In short, they continued to pass those islands, obedient to the orders that they must not stop until they should reach Filipinas. At those islands it was better ordained that the seminary should be established, so that from that point the light and instruction might spread to the shores of other islands. Without any doubt, the Filipinas are the best suited for this purpose, as they are near great China, and not far from Japón, Siam, and Camboja, while even the land of India is said to be within sight; and the islands are surrounded by an infinite number of other islands, inhabited by immense multitudes of people.

The fleet set sail and left those islands of the Barbudos – and now the route to the Filipinas is very far from them. Next day they sighted another island, which seemed of vast extent. But when they had arrived nearer, they found some small barren islands, stretching north and south, to which they gave the name Placeres.[18] In the afternoon another island, upon which lived many birds, was sighted, and they named it from the birds. From this point they continued to discover islands and barren islets, all of them in the latitude of ten degrees; and they gave various names to them. Here Father Urdaneta ordered the vessels to ascend to the thirteenth degree, so that by running westward and turning their course to the southwest, until they reached twelve and one-half degrees, they might reach the Filipinas. On Saturday, January 22, the Ladrones Islands were discovered, so called because their inhabitants are

[18] In hydrography the name *placeres* is given to the layer of sand in stagnant water or alluvion which usually has particles of gold. The Placeres are in the western part of the Carolinas. See San Agustin's *Conquistas,* p. 67, and Montero y Vidal's *El archipiélago filipino* (Madrid, 1886), pp. 443-499.– Coco.



Map of the Marianas Islands (with large inset of the island of Guam); from Bellin's map in *Historische Beschryving der Reizen* (Amsterdam, 1758)

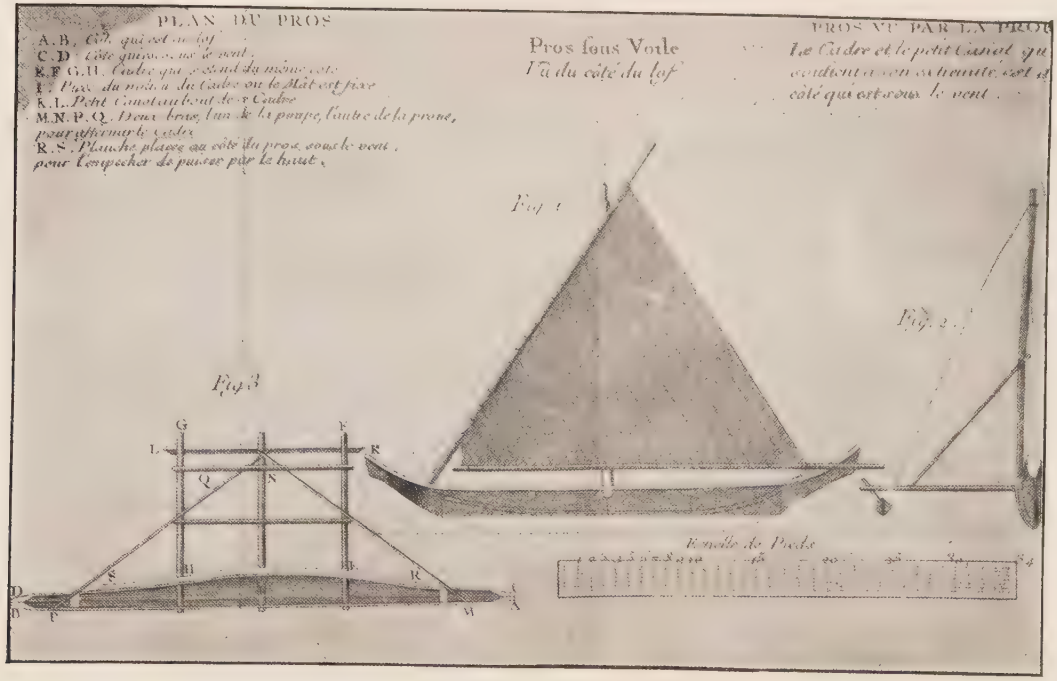
[*From copy in library of Wisconsin Historical Society*]

robbers, to as great an extent as possible. They are very different from the natives of the other islands, whose goodness is such, that they do not know what it is to steal. And if I admit that there are many robbers [in the Filipinas] they have become so since the Spaniards have governed them; for the natives learn our bad habits better than our good ones. Hence they are quite expert in all the vices of the Spaniards, but dull and ignorant in their virtues. In this is seen the bias of their disposition, and that they are much more inclined to evil than to good. Father Urdaneta said mass in these Ladrones Islands, and gave their inhabitants to understand, as well as he could, the purpose of his coming, making use likewise of the interpreter Pacheco. Possession was taken of those islands for the king, our sovereign, with all the solemnities of law. The natives expressed great satisfaction with everything; for, as they are by nature robbers, they assured the Spaniards, in order to commit their depredations better. And not few were the jests that our Spaniards endured from that people, all out of respect to the general, who with his goodness, bore it all, claiming in this wise to win the hearts of those islanders better than with arms. For if the natives were exasperated they would receive tardily the blessings that were intended for them.

This island of the Ladrones where the Spaniards anchored is a lofty, mountainous land, with its coasts fringed with thick cocoa groves, and other cool and shady trees. The natives of the islands eat rice, which is the chief food of all the islands. At times, when I consider how many people use rice as bread, I think that three-fourths of the world are sustained on this kind of food. These Ladrones Islands number

thirteen,[19] and extend north and south. As they were the first islands of which the general took possession, his Majesty granted them to Melchor López de Legaspi, only son of the general, giving him the title of adelantado. These Indians go naked. Both men and women are fine sailors and swimmers, for they are accustomed to jump from their little boats after fish, and to catch and eat them raw. Their boats are very narrow, and have only a counterweight at the opposite end, where they carry their sail. The sail is lateen, and woven from palms. In these craft do they venture forth intrepidly through those seas, from island to island, so that one would think that they had a treaty with wind and water. The ships en route to the Filipinas pass through these islands, at different latitudes at various times. So many boats go out to meet them, that they quite surround the ships. The natives try to trade water and the products of their islands for iron, the substance that they esteem most; but, if they are able to steal the iron, without giving anything for it, they do so. It is necessary to aim an arquebus (which they fear greatly) at them in order to get the article returned. And to induce them to leave the ships free, there is no better method than to fire the arquebus in the air, the reverberations of which cause them to hide, fear, and vanish. While the ship in which I took passage was passing one of the islands, many small boats came out as usual. Among them came one belonging to a robust youth, who was coming to look for a Castilian, who had been his captive, as he desired to see him. This Spaniard,

[19] The largest of the Marianas or Ladrone Islands is Guam, which was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1898. The remaining twelve smaller islands of the group were transferred to Germany by Spain.


PLAN DU PROS
A.B. G.H. qui est au fof
C.D. Côté qui est au vent.
E.F G.H. Cadre qui se tend du même côté
I. Pieu du milieu du Cadre ou le Mât est fixé
K.L. Petit Canot au bout de ce Cadre
M.N.P.Q. Deux bras, l'un de la poupe, l'autre de la proue, pour affermir le Cadre
R.S. Planche placée au côté du pros sous le vent, pour l'empêcher de passer par le haut.
Pros fous Voile
Vû du côté du fof
PROS VU PAR LA PROU
le Cadre et le petit Canot qu
contient au vent actuellement, c'est à
côté qui est sous le vent.
Fig. 1
Fig. 2
Fig. 3
Echelle de Pieds

View of boat of the Ladrone Islands; from *Histoire générale des voyages* (Paris, 1753)

[*From copy in library of Wisconsin Historical Society*]

with others who escaped from the ship "Santa Margarita" (which was wrecked on those islands), lived among those barbarians, until, by good fortune, the ships with succor passed there, and they embarked in them. The Spaniard, who had been the slave of this Indian, was with us. As soon as the latter saw him, he boarded our vessel fearlessly. And still with no signs of fear, he went among our men and threw himself into the arms of the man whom he knew, and who had eaten his bread and lived in his house. He was quite covered with marks of teeth; and when the Spaniard, who knew something of their language and customs because of his stay among them, was asked the reason, he said that that native had but just been married, and the dowry that he had given was to receive those bites from his wife without murmuring. In that way do the women elect and choose their husbands. The native was loaded down with scissors, knives and iron. With all this load he dived into the water, and at the moment he was thought to have gone to the bottom, because of the weight of his load, he reappeared quite at his ease, placed his load in his little craft, then got in himself, and hoisted his sail. He himself attended to all the duties of steersman and lookout, and ploughed those seas as if his craft were a powerful galleon. The household economy of these, as of the other natives, is uniform, as will be told later on; so that all appear as if cut out by one pair of shears – notable indications that they are all lopped from one trunk.

CHAPTER V

Of the discovery of these islands

They continued their voyage toward the west, un-

til the thirteenth of the above month, on which day land was sighted at eight o'clock in the morning. That point marks the beginning of the Filipinas Islands, which name was given to all these islands, in the year 42, by Ruy López de Villalobos. Anchor was cast in a bay forty-five brazas deep. Then, at the general's command, the master-of-camp, Father Urdaneta, and some soldiers with them, landed, and went to see whether the island contained any town or people with whom they could talk. And although they brought report of none of this, they found quite sufficient information next day from some Indians who came to the flagship, who furnished them with the desired information regarding those islands. The commander received them kindly, and presented to them some small trifles, of little value – which, however, they esteemed highly, as they were novelties and unknown to them before – and they went away happy. When they were going, they were told that they could treat for friendship and alliance with the Spaniards without any fear. Those Indians, drawn to the Spaniards by both the kindly treatment and the presents given them, talked to their tribesmen. As a result, the next morning the ships were surrounded by their little boats, all full of Indians of all ages. Among them were some chiefs, who told the Spaniards that they wished to draw blood with them, as a proof of the constancy with which they would keep the friendship that was to be made with them. This ceremony consists in drawing some drops of blood, generally from the arms. These drops they mix together, and afterward mix with a little wine, which is then drunk by the two or more who bled themselves and who wish to contract the friendship. The com-

mander rejoiced at this, although he refused to draw blood himself, reserving that ceremony for the king, or supreme head of all the islands. Accordingly the master-of-camp drew blood with them, and then they became seemingly firm friends. The commander regaled them as well as he was able, and bestowed not less attention on them. As a result they appeared well pleased, and bound to make similar returns. They promised to do many favors for the Spaniards in the future.

Through this care, the islanders continued to frequent the vessels fearlessly. The commander treated them according to their rank, and showed himself kind and affectionate to all. He believed that he could accomplish more for God and his king by that way than by the din of arms. As soon as the father prior, Fray Andrés Urdaneta, considered them somewhat quiet and less timorous than at first, he began, as a true curator of souls, to tell them the chief purpose of the Spaniards' coming through so wide and vast seas, ploughing the waters in those vessels of theirs; this he declared to be none other than to give them light, in order that, issuing from the darkness of the ignorance in which they had lived for so many years, they might know the true God, the creator of the universe, and His only begotten Son – who became man for our redemption and our release from the slavery of the devil, lived in this world among men, and finally died, so that by His death we might have life and liberty. He declared that the imparting of such truths to them was the duty of the fathers and priests who were in the vessels, who would take nothing else upon themselves, so that these natives, guided thus by the right way, might also enjoy salvation. The oth-

ers, he said, although they were of the same nation, desired to settle among the natives – not for any evil, but only to trade in the things of which the natives had abundance; and at the same time to protect them and defend them from their enemies, who, envious of their good fortune, might try to make war upon them. Likewise they would maintain the natives in all peace and quiet, so that, on this account, the latter might devote themselves more thoroughly to their occupations, either at home or abroad, without any fear of harm befalling them from the Spaniards, if they on their part regarded thoroughly the laws of the friendship that had been entered upon with so many ceremonies, according to their manner and custom. In all these negotiations, the Indian Pacheco proved of great use. Through what was said to him, and from his own experience, he endeavored to persuade the natives to do what would be so much to their advantage. The natives showed themselves very well satisfied at everything, and agreed to everything without any repugnance or opposition. After this the Spaniards requested the natives to sell them some food; for they needed food, because of their long voyage. The natives promised the food generously and willingly. The men in the fleet waited until next day, believing that the natives would surely fulfil their promise, since the promise had been made with so many appearances of affection. The natives came then, but brought no more than one cock and one egg, and said that they were collecting the other food in their towns. Now at this the general recognized the islanders' faithlessness and malice, and that they were entertaining the Spaniards with words alone, and that they were only awaiting a good opportunity to

work some great mischief. The gallant gentleman bore it all, in order not to give any grounds for any possible complaints from the natives. On the other hand, he set about finding a better port, in order to have it against the occasion already feared by the tokens observed in those fickle people. To this end he sent Captain Juan de la Isla to look for a good port. He and his men went to a bay, where the Indians met them peaceably, and showed signs of a desire to draw blood with them. But our men dared not trust them, as they feared some calamity or treachery. One of our gallant youths, an attendant on the commander, by name Francisco Gómez, declared his intention to draw blood with them; and without more consent, suiting the action to the word, he landed, and began to loose his clothing for the ceremony. But scarcely had he uncovered his breast, when suddenly an Indian pierced him with a lance, and he fell to the earth dead. This unlooked for event caused our men great grief. It confirmed their fears, and showed them how little they could trust to that faithless race. Our commander was likewise mocked by the Indians, who seeing that they had enjoyed his presents, and that the Spaniards were still mild and discussed only the question of concluding the temporal affairs, now came no longer to the ships, and not one single Indian appeared. This made the commander somewhat anxious, and his anxiety was increased by the non-return of the small-boat, and he feared greatly that some ill-fortune had befallen it. On this account, he determined to weigh anchor with all the fleet, and coast along the island in search of ports, rivers, or settlements, and not less, provisions, of which now they were in sad want. Accordingly they set sail at night-

fall, and next day sighted another bay, which they named San Pedro, as it was the eve of St. Peter's preaching in Antioch. At that place one of the chief Indians, nephew of Tandayag, chief of that island, came to see them. He came, on behalf of his uncle, to draw blood with the commander. He was received courteously, and the commander made much of him, and asked him to bring his uncle, with whom he would draw blood willingly; for it was not reasonable that the commander of the Castilians, the ambassador of so powerful a sovereign as the king of España, should draw blood with less than the supreme ruler of the islands. This argument satisfied the barbarian, and he declared the commander's remark to be very reasonable. Accordingly he would have his uncle come, both because the request of *Basal* was reasonable – *Basal* was the name given by them to the commander, and this name is given even now to all the governors, whom they have called and call Captain Basal (*id est*, "captain-general") – and also because, as he said, he knew his uncle was very willing to make peace with the Castilians, and to live under their guardianship and protection. The commander bestowed generous gifts upon him, and sent him away very happy. He went away, to all appearances, making them a thousand promises that the natives would bring them very willingly all the provisions, and everything that they requested, as alliance and friendship with the Castilas [*i.e.*, Castilians] – as the natives called, and still call us – was of great moment to them. But neither they nor the many others who came fulfilled their word one whit, so that our men were made to understand that they came only to see and note what kind of men ours were,

their arms, and how they could rid themselves of them. For they immediately thought that friendship with the Castilians would be of no use to them, because those who were then the rulers of the natives would afterward behold themselves under the yoke, serving as slaves. This they considered more than the good of the soul, offered to them, to which they paid no attention; nor did they desire it, as they were content with their *anitos,* wassails, and innumerable other superstitions that had been handed down from father to son since time immemorial.

When this was considered by the commander and the religious, the former, by the advice of the religious, sent Captain Martin Goiti to explore the river of Tandayag, and to find out, on the way, whether any good port existed along the coast, where safe anchorage might be had. He was ordered strictly to do no harm to the Indians. He took father Fray Diego de Herrera with him. I beg the kind reader to note that there is no sign of any action, in which, if one of our religious took part, he did not play the principal rôle. One is led to think that the Lord wished them to be the explorers in everything. The commander had so good an opinion of our religious, that he trusted to nothing without them, nor had any confidence in the good outcome of any undertaking without them. He chose, as an excellent Christian, to attribute all his prosperity to the servants of God, in whom he put greater trust than in his own strength. For at the end difficulties are removed more easily by prayers than by human strength; and God always desires that the glory of things be attributed to Him, as the one who really does them. He who does not guide himself thus is in great error.

And if, by the same reasoning, one attributes anything to himself, God makes of no account his intents; so that, whereas he expected to derive from it honor, he derives disgrace. This I think the reason of so many lost opportunities, so many ruined fleets, and the ill-success of other fleets, for perhaps no thought or heed had been given to God. But it was quite apparent how little confidence our commander placed in his own honor, since he would allow no action to be passed over without our religious, in order to attribute it to God, whose in truth it was. As soon as the commander had despatched the frigate or patache, [as] the governor, he landed, and took possession in his Majesty's name. Father Fray Andrés de Aguirre said the first mass. This taking of possession was observed before a notary, with all the solemnities requisite and necessary. From that point, the commander ascended a creek toward the town of Coyongo. He took Father Urdaneta and Father Aguirre with him to talk to the inhabitants, and to endeavor to make them peaceful. Arrived in sight of the town he found that the Indians were hostile. They were drawn up in squares according to their custom, and by their cries demanded battle. The commander did not permit any harm to be done them, but tried to inform them, through his interpreter, of his reason for coming. But it was of no avail, for the natives answered that the Castilians' words were fair, but their deeds evil. When the commander found his efforts of no avail, he went down the creek. The Indians imagined he was fleeing, and with loud cries followed him. They threw such a shower of stones, and they were so troublesome, that the commander was obliged to face about to censure them. He fired

a few arquebus shots, but with so great mildness and moderation that it served only to frighten and not to kill them, but it was effective.

Captain Martín de Goiti, who, as I have said, went to explore the river of Tandayag, had no better success with the Indians than the above; for when he tried to take in water in a river, an Indian came out from the thicket, and throwing his dart, transfixed a servant of the captain, so that he died immediately. The frigate advanced, and discovered a large river, and a large settlement, with many rice-fields, herds of swine, and Castilian fowls. Thereupon they thought it unnecessary to make any further explorations. Goiti learned that the town was called Cabalían, and thereupon returned to inform the commander fully of his expedition. The latter was much cheered at this, because of the little result obtained by his efforts in Tandayag, and the time and presents that he had lost. The commander removed his fleet to Cabalían. Upon his arrival there, he landed some men, so that, accompanied by Father Urdaneta, they might offer the inhabitants peace. Scarcely had the embassy been announced in Cabalían, when the Indians filled the shore and sea with their *barotos* [20] and boats; for they had heard already of the commander's kind treatment, and had been informed concerning the gifts and presents that he gave. Among them came a youth, the son of the chief of Cabalían, who came to draw blood with the commander. He was received

[20] Retana (*Estadismo*, ii, p. 512*) says that the *baroto* is now a boat dug out of a single log, sometimes of more than eighty feet in length. They are used principally for the lading and discharging of vessels, and are native craft of Cebú and neighboring islands. See *U. S. Gazetteer of Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902).

courteously, and the alférez-general, son of the commander, drew blood with him. He said that when the ruler of that town should come, then the commander would draw blood with him. That youth, named Camatuan, assented to everything, for never does the swindler consider that he must pay or fulfil anything. This visit allowed the people of Cabalían time to collect all their best possessions and food, which they removed that night, thus mocking the commander.

CHAPTER VI

Continuation of the preceding

The commander saw that all his good and earnest efforts had been frustrated, and that the natives of the islands had mocked the Spaniards openly; because hitherto they had suffered no ill from the latter, but only the above-mentioned kind treatment and hospitality, which would have proved sufficient to attract a more unruly race. But such is the characteristic of this race, which has afflicted and still afflicts the priests. These people refuse to do anything thoroughly; and in order to get them to perform what is ordered of them, one must use the lash and the rattan – whence comes the saying of a holy bishop of these islands, namely, that on that day when was born the Indian, next to him was born the rattan, with which the dust was to be beaten from his back. And if we ministers have experienced this after so long a period of cultivation and teaching, what must it have been at the beginning? Accordingly, I am not surprised that the Indians were so ungrateful to General Miguel López de Legaspi, turned their backs on all his offers, played such sorry jests on him, and

broke faith immediately – for the Indians do not possess it. And even after he had participated in their bestial ceremonies of drawing blood and drinking the blood – a token of constancy among the Indians – the latter, it was found, failed to observe them just as readily as the friendship had been confirmed by these customs. The commander began to suffer almost extreme want, for already he had provisions for but two days, and was compelled to seek them. Hitherto efforts, such as men of so generous souls and so desirous of peace could make, had been made. But the Spaniards saw that they were not advantaged, and that need was tightening the cords, so that, if they did not look for food in a different manner, they would doubtless perish at the hands of the Indians, a thing quite opposed to charity. Hence, it was permitted the Spaniards, in order to sustain life, to take food by harsh means, since indeed kind measures did not suffice. Nevertheless, the commander, to be justified, took counsel with all the others before doing anything of importance, for he would rather err with the advice of all, than succeed through his own single action. He called a council of war; he communicated to all the condition of affairs, and what efforts had been made with the Indians in order to make firm peace, and to buy from them with money the food necessary for their sustenance. This, he said, it was impossible to negotiate with the Indians. Now necessity forced the Spaniards to get food by severer methods, since the Indians had repulsed mild measures so obstinately. When the commander stopped speaking, he ordered every one to express his opinion. Thereupon, the father prior, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, arose and spoke first, as was his custom, be-

cause of his experience and his offices, and because all the Spaniards regarded him as a father, from whom must originate the remedy. He said that natural law conceded to them the right to get provisions by the readiest means, in order that that fleet, which had been constructed for the good of those barbarians, might not perish. Even if the end of their coming had not been so great and important to those peoples, it was a well-known wrong to refuse them the intercourse most natural to men, without the Spaniards having given any occasion for it. Inasmuch as they were reduced to the preservation of life itself, they were justified in taking arms, wherewith to get the sustenance that the Indians had unjustly withheld from them and refused them for their money. *Quibus necessarium tunc est bellum.* Therefore, he considered war justifiable, since by no other way had any remedy been found among those unreasoning barbarians. But before commencing war, he said, a solemn declaration of the wrongs should be made, of which the Spaniards would be, in no manner, guilty, since they had labored so sincerely for peace and harmony. Father Urdaneta's advice was concurred in unanimously, as was usual. Accordingly, his advice was followed on this occasion, as being the sanest and most sensible.

In order to put the decision of the conference into execution, the governor ordered Martín de Goiti to land with fifty well-armed soldiers. By means of the interpreter, Pacheco, he was to announce the articles of peace to the Indians; and declare that, if they did not accord what was so reasonable to all, then they should prepare for the war, which, from that moment was proclaimed on them as rebels. The Indians

paid no more heed to this than to all the rest that had been told them. Thus it was necessary to make use of their arms. The arquebuses were fired more to scare than to harm the Indians; for, as soon as those natives heard the report, being so little used to them, their terror was so great, that, without awaiting more, they abandoned the shore and village, fled to the hills, and allowed the soldiers to collect the swine that were found there, and the fowls and rice that they could carry away. All this was appraised at its just value, and the money given to the chief's son, whom the commander still kept with him, in order that he might take it to the village. He was also to inform the inhabitants that the need of the Spaniards compelled them to take by force of arms what the Indians refused to sell for money, and nevertheless after they had been able to accomplish what was seen, yet they were paying for it, which was a sufficient indication of the Spaniards' fair and open proceeding, so contrary to what the Indians had done. He was ordered to return with the reply, notwithstanding its tenor. Since he was ruler of that village in the absence of his father, he should reduce the people to obedience, and counsel them to do what was so thoroughly to their interest. Camutuan, who listened to all of the above, and seemingly assented to it, took the money and promised to fulfil his charge with success. But as soon as he left the ship, he acted just as the others had done; for in their method of acting all the Indians are cut out by one pair of shears. To a greater or less degree, all of them are a unit. Whoever has seen one of them, might well say that he has seen all. The chiefs, by the very fact of their chieftaincy, should have some better mode of procedure; yet they

are so little better than the others that it can scarcely be perceived. The commander, who was aware that that matter must be settled finally with arms, yet did not wish to leave anything undone. Consequently, to procure the peace justly, he determined to leave that village of Cabalían and go to another, called Manchagua, where report said that the first Spaniards had landed. To this end he despatched the master-of-camp and Father Urdaneta ahead to offer peace to the chief of that village by means of a present. The commander went with his fleet from this village to the island of Camiguín, where he succeeded likewise in finding no people, who but recently were all to be found. Our men made many other efforts, and even took as intermediary a Moro factor of the king of Burney, who was there at that time. The latter said that the governor had captured him in a battle with the Portuguese. I do not discuss that battle, in order to consider only the essential thing pertaining to us religious, namely, the planting of the faith, the fundamental reason for this history. But in passing, I merely observe that our forces gained many glorious victories over the Portuguese, for the latter were exceedingly sorry to have the Castilians for so near neighbors, and tried to drive them out. Perhaps they were influenced in this by having as neighbors those who had a better right and reason to the Molucas than themselves. This, I think, must have been why our Lord favored the Castilians' cause the more. Perhaps had the Portuguese examined the matter more closely, they would not have given the Castilians so many occasions for glory, nor have demanded investigations so greatly to their satisfaction – or rather, [as it proved,] their loss.

Resuming, then, the thread of my history, I say that this Bornean youth, who was well versed in affairs of the islands and knew their chiefs, because of his continual communication with them, wished to repay the Spaniards for the kind treatment that they had given him – or rather he wished to obtain their good will, in order to regain his liberty. He began to treat for peace, and to harmonize discordant spirits, so that affairs might be meliorated, by reason of what the Spaniards requested. He assured the islanders of the great moderation which the Spaniards would exercise toward them, and that they would commit no wrong or violence. He accomplished this with so good grace, that he brought the chiefs Sicatuna and Sigala before the commander. These chiefs drew blood with our men, and made a lasting peace. But none of these exploits was important, because they found it all tiresome and inconvenient to continue of one mind.

Already was the season well advanced, and our commander was anxious about the affairs of Nueva España. He desired to give a good account there of his expedition, and feared lest, by the delay, they might doubt his success or care. He was right in correcting this wrong, because, although no doubts arise where confidence is, yet all the kingdom was in great suspense; for the patache "San Lúcas," which sailed with our fleet, had scarcely gone two hundred leguas from Puerto de la Navidad, when it maliciously separated from the others. After pillaging those islands, it returned to Nueva España, and said that a storm had separated them, and that, without doubt, all the rest of the fleet was lost. For that reason, then, the commander, to allay the fears caused in

Nueva España by the delay, called a council, according to his custom. There he proposed the questions that had arisen concerning that matter, which he himself had already considered. He besought all to counsel him in this as to what would be best for their convenience, honor, and reputation, and as to what means should be taken to fulfil all their commission. The strongest reason that he adduced was the discovery of the return passage to Nueva España; and he said that that had been the most potent reason for the construction of that fleet. In short, the unanimous reply, given through the mouth of Father Urdaneta, was that it was very proper to ascertain correctly the return passage, since by it, the kingdoms of Nueva España and even of España, would be strung together, as they say. The flagship "San Pedro" was selected for the voyage, as being, in their opinion, the strongest and best able to resist so new and unknown seas, as were supposed to exist on the return trip. Meanwhile, the almiranta "San Pablo" and the patache "San Juan" were to stay among the islands, although it was judged better to go to the island of Sugbú [Cebú], where the Spaniards had been several times already, and where they were known. Also they believed that, if they should experience any difficulty, they would be justified in making war there, because of the treachery that its inhabitants had shown to Captain Hernando de Magallanes–whom they had killed treacherously with many of his men, at a banquet, where they had been invited in good faith. Besides that, those Indians had offered themselves for the service of the king of España, and many were baptized, in the time of the said captain, who afterward apostatized. This was a very strong and sufficient

foundation, upon which father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and the others based the right to make war, in case that the Indians refused to receive them peacefully, as was their pretense. All approved this opinion. However, I must note here the strongest reason that they ought to have alleged, unless they must have neglected and passed it by as being so well known, in order to find others more constraining. When I read the various opinions of the doctors regarding our right to make war on the western Indians, although they are somewhat sufficient, that which has most real power to quiet the conscience – while those who opposed it can only be esteemed as rash – is the concession of Alexander VI which is, in brief, as follows.

[Here follows the portion of the bull of Alexander VI of May 4, 1493, included in *Et tu tanti negotii . . . auctoritate et jurisdictione facimus, constituimus et deputamus.*] [21]

Since, then, the supreme pontiff says that he can give, and does really give them, he would be rash who could have any scruples about the right of our kings to possess these provinces, and the right of the conquistadors therein to make war, since the latter did it by order of their kings. For who doubts that the supreme pontiff, who never was known to be tyrannical or unjust, had not well considered his powers in order to make this concession? The reasons that could influence his Holiness are not unknown, but they are rather for the schools than for this place. The above has been given with the end of quieting the consciences of the conquistadors, and of sealing the

[21] See VOL. I, pp. 105-111, for the English translation of this bull. The translation of the portion quoted occupies parts of pp. 108, 109.

mouths of the ignorant, since whatever scruples do or can arise in this matter are settled so completely by Alexander VI's brief. The soldier has no call to judge or investigate the justification of the war, as the doctors unanimously agree. It is sufficient that he consider it as not manifestly unjust, and that he consider his king – as we all do ours – as so Catholic and so good, that he will war upon no one without a very just reason. For the justification of a king in matters of conscience, the declaration of the first rule is sufficient, namely, the certain knowledge of the Roman pontiff.

Hence, according to the above, the opinions rendered by Father Urdaneta in two grave councils seem very apropos. But for soldiers, it is better to take our stand upon this conclusive argument, namely, that those islands belong to our Catholic sovereigns of Castilla and León, by concession of the pope, and by the reasons that influenced him therein. Accordingly, the Spaniards may make port wherever they wish, may request provisions in exchange for their money, may establish towns and cities, erect redoubts as if in their own land, and make war on whomever opposes them, as they are unjustly prohibited [by such opposition] from doing what is right.

CHAPTER VII

Of the arrival and landing of the fleet at the island of Sugbú

Having resolved to follow the advice given, our men set sail, and directed their course toward the island of Sugbú [*i.e.*, Cebú]. They anchored there on the twenty-seventh day of the month of April, day of the glorious martyr St. Vidal, in the year 1565. This

day happened to be also the feast of the resurrection. They honored the saint as their patron and advocate. His feast is kept every year, and his day observed. The flag is unfurled with the greatest pomp possible, but that is little now, because the city of Santísimo Nombre de Dios, founded there, has greatly declined. A regidor unfurls the flag. He is assigned therefor by the city, that is, the cabildo, to whom the city grants his gratuity. On this day, the [image of the] most sacred child Jesus, which rests in our convent of San Agustín, is taken out, and carried in procession to the cathedral, after a paper has been signed, by decree of the justice, that it will be given back to the same religious. The ecclesiastical and secular cabildos come to our house to take part in the procession, the prebendaries say mass, and a religious of our house preaches. After the fulfilment of these duties, those who carried the most sacred child carry it back, and the spiritual feast is ended.[22] In the afternoon there is a bull-fight, as extensive as their means allow – but that, as I have said, is slight. The island is long and narrow, and extends north and south. It has but little rice, as the dry seasons there are generally long. Once it was excellent for cattle, and the herds multiplied to such an extent that there was no room for them on the land. The milk was of fine quality, and the cheeses which were made, and are still made, are the best in the islands, and are esteemed as such. But the cattle have decreased so much, that the

[22] This image is not now carried to the Cathedral on St. Vidal's day. It is carried in procession, however, on the second Sunday succeeding Epiphany when the Church celebrates the feast of the sweet name of Jesus. Until the end of Spain's domination of the islands the banner of Castile was also carried in this procession.– Coco.

ranches that had a thousand cows now have but the name of having been there. The best ranch always was the one that belonged to us, located something like three-quarters of a legua from the city, for it had about two thousand cows; but scarcely does it preserve five hundred today. The cause of this might have been from the Indians not eating beef in the beginning, and their dogs not disturbing the calves. But now the Indians eat beef, and the fields are full of unruly dogs, so that between them both, the cattle are a thing of the past. Only the fathers of the Society, as in all districts, have the good fortune to preserve their estates, and maintain their cows in the said city; so that it may be said that they sustain the city, which nets them not a little gain. The fields are full also of a weed called *amores secos*,[23] which is not good for the cattle. Furthermore, the island is barren, for which reason the Spaniards abandoned it, and established the seat of their government in the island of Luzón, where at present is located the city of Manila. The city [of Nombre de Dios] lies in that part where the vendaval blows, so that the waves and surf are blown against their houses. Lying in front of and very near to Sugbú is an island called Magtang, where Captain Magallanes was killed years ago. It is a low-lying land, and now with so few in-

[23] Literally "barren loves," the *Chrysopopogon acicutatus* (Trin.). It is described by Delgado (*Historia*, p. 744) as a brake that is found quite commonly in the fields, and has small ears that bear a kind of very small millet, like that called *vallico* in Spain, which grows among the wheat. It has a rough mildew that sticks to the clothes and penetrates them, which the Spaniards call *amores secos*. It is especially abundant where there are cattle; and when these are grazing, the plants penetrate their eyes, even blinding them because they grow so thickly, and they must be withdrawn with the fingers.

habitants that they do not reach fifty; but when the Spaniards arrived there was a greater number.[24] There are two channel-entrances, with one strait between the two islands. It is not of even width but is narrow in some places, and wide at others, in accordance with the points and bays between the islands. One mouth lies toward the brisa, and is deeper and narrower; the other to the vendaval, shallower, but wider. Hence by this latter mouth no ship with high freeboard can enter, but they enter by the other mouth. The port has so deep water right next the shore, that the ships anchor on the sand. The fort is now located quite near, and is mounted with excellent artillery. The ships of our Spaniards passed by, and anchored here. They found many people; for truly the island was thickly populated, and with the most warlike people of the country, as has been seen when they have joined with the Spaniards. They have performed excellent exploits in the service of the Spaniards, and have aided them in conquering the country. The old inhabitants assert that when the Spaniards arrived, the town of Sugbú was so populous that its

[24] Charts of the villages of Opong and Córdoba in the island of Mactan, made about 1893, showed that the island possessed 15,060 inhabitants.– Coco.

Bulletin No. 1, of *Census of the Philippine Islands*: 1903, "Population of the Philippines" (issued by the Bureau of the Census, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, 1904), gives the present population of Mactán, which is in the province of Cebú, as 17,540, all civilized.

The Philippine Islands are divided into provinces or *comandancias*, the latter meaning military district, and in which civil government has not yet been established. The province or comandancia is divided into municipalities and *barrios*. That barrio or ward in which the municipal government is located is called the *población* or *centro*. The census of the various municipalities has been returned for each barrio. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*.

houses extended from Mandave to San Nicolás, which is, I think, more than one and one-half leguas by land. Now there are so few inhabitants, that there are not three hundred tributes in the town of San Nicolás, which is the town proper of Sugbú. They are separated about one-quarter legua from the city of the Spaniards.[25] It is the best port of the island today, and might have been very good, if affairs there had continued to improve. But as cities are maintained and grow through trade, and the trade there is in wax, which is of little value, its citizens are abandoning the city and going to Manila. While the climate of the latter place is not so good, nor the country so healthy, they are drawn by the wealth there, and the trade with China, Japon, Macan, and India – and above all, with Nueva España.

I believe, if a small ship were to leave this city of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús – which is the second in these islands, because that of Cáceres in Camarines,

[25] Cebú and San Nicolás are now two independent towns. The census of the latter, about 1893, showed 20,498 inhabitants.– Coco.

The population of the island of Cebú, according to the census of 1903 (see Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*), was 592,247; of the city of Cebú, 31,079; or, if the closer-built part of this municipality, which may properly be regarded as the city of Cebú, be considered, its population is 18,330.

The steady increase in the total population of the Philippines, as shown by various reports and sources, more or less authoritative and trustworthy, is seen in the following figures. At the time of the discovery by Magallanes in 1521, the total population is supposed to have numbered about 500,000. In 382 years, according to the census report of 1903, the population (now 7,635,426, slightly more than the 1900 census of New York State) has multiplied fifteen times. The increase during the past century was 1.5 per cent. Of the present population, 6,987,686 are civilized or partly so, and 647,740 are wild and uncivilized, although they have some knowledge of domestic arts. Of this latter number about 23,000 are Negritos, who are supposed to be the aborigines of the archipelago. Sources (ecclesiastical and governmental) give

and that of Segovia in Cagayán [26] have already declined – for Nueva España, that, beyond any doubt, the city would return to its former prosperity. But it does not appear possible, for the city has no citizens with capital who care to engage in the building of any vessel. The city has a garrison of one company of seven hundred soldiers, more or less at times, and other extravagances. It has an alcalde-mayor, who acts as governor. He is also captain of the company of the presidio, and usually is supreme chief of all the Pintados. The latter are so called because all the male Pintados tattooed their entire bodies with so excellent and well-designed symmetry, that the best artist in España could learn from them. The women tattooed the hands. But the proper name of these islands is the Bisayas. Many tongues are spoken in them, for there are many islands and many villages, and there is hardly a village that has not its own dialect. But the chief tongues are the *Boholan,*

the census for various years as follows; they cannot all be taken as definite, although some are approximately so:

1735	837,182	1845	3,434,007
1799	1,522,224	1850	3,800,163
1805	1,741,234	1862	4,734,533
1812	1,933,331	1870	4,698,477
1815	2,502,994	1876	5,567,685
1817	2,062,805	1879	5,817,268
1818	2,026,230	1887	5,984,727
1827	2,593,287	1891	6,101,682
1833	3,153,290	1896	6,261,339
1840	3,096,031		

That guesswork has figured to some extent in these figures is evident; but as a whole they represent tolerably well the growth of the islands. The figures for 1903 are to be relied on. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*, and *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, pp. 25-31.

[26] The episcopal residence is now in Vigan, Ilocos Sur, where it was removed in 1755 from Lal-lo, Cagayán.– Coco.

which is spoken in Sugbú, and the *Hiligain*, and they are very similar. These islands have a bishop, whose see is located in the city of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús. That city has a cabildo with its dignitaries, but in name only, for it has no income. The bishops have been to blame, because they have not been very active; for our sovereigns, through their piety, would have assigned stipends, had these been proposed to them. This bishopric has a large territory, and, in my opinion, is larger and more extensive than the archbishopric of Manila. For it includes the islands of Leyte, Samar, and Ibabao,[27] where the fathers of the Society are carrying on their missions. This island was formerly densely inhabited with Indians, but now the population is much less, as is that of all the other islands. This bishopric includes the island of Bohol, which is in charge of the same fathers. It can be seen from the plaza of Sugbú, from which it is slightly more than three leguas distant. I shall have to speak of it later. This bishopric includes also the island of Panay, more than fifty leguas distant, which is in our charge. We have thirteen convents there, besides two more in the island of Sugbú, and besides the other three belonging to seculars in the same island of Panay.[28] This island is the granary of all the islands of this archipelago, and I shall need to

[27] The island now known as Samar was formerly called Samar in the south, and Ibabao in the north.– Coco.

[28] The island of Panay has at present one hundred villages, scattered through the three provinces of Iloilo, Capíz, and Antique, and the two districts of Concepción and Aclán – with a population in 1893 of about 790,772 people, of whom the Augustinians had in charge 561,158.– Coco.

The "Bulletin" above cited gives Panay (which comprises parts of Antique, Cápiz, and Iloílo provinces) 743,646 people, of whom 14,933 are wild.

speak of it many times. This bishopric includes the island of Negros, so called from its many Negrillos. It is bounded on one side by Sugbú. In short, the islands subject to this bishopric are almost innumerable. It extends to the great island of Mindanao, which is said to be larger than that of Manila,[29] and to be inhabited by an infinite number of people. By our neglect the worship of Mahoma has gained an entrance there. One would believe that those demons attended to, and still attend to, those fables of theirs, more than we to our truths. Many of the islands about Mindanao have the same worship. On one side are the islands of Cuyo and great Paragua, where abundance of wax is gathered. War generally prevails in the Pintados. This offers great danger to those who go there, and more to the religious who go there most often. And although our fleets have made sallies, I have never seen them have any luck – either because they did not wish it, or because the Indians' boats are so light that our caracoas can never overtake them, the worst people of these islands thus succeeding with their great depredations. This matter will be referred to later; for some time past we have lost sight of our men, whom we left disembarking at Sugbú, armed and ready for whatever might happen.

An Indian named Tupas was the chief of that island. Although all manner of efforts were made with him, he refused to come to good terms with the

[29] This is a fact if the figures of the *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* are correct. Those figures show that the mainland of Luzón contains 43,075 square miles and that of Mindanao 45,559. While these numbers may not yet be taken as authoritative they may be regarded as approximate until actual and scientific surveys are made. Algué's *Atlas* follows the generally accepted though perhaps erroneous idea that Luzón is the larger of the two, its figures being 47,238 and 36,237 square miles, respectively.

commander. He continued to occasion innumerable delays, while, on the other hand, he negotiated with his men to arm and oppose the Spaniards, according to their custom – so that not only would they defend their country from them, but even finish them all, doing to them the same thing that their ancestors had done to Magallanes's men. For, he said, those foreign nations could bring them no advantage, but would deprive them of their liberty, which they enjoyed as rulers of the land. Furthermore their *babaylans*, who were their priestesses, made every effort so that the Spaniards might not set foot on land; for the devil, with whom they were in accord, seeing that his reign was about to end, acted with more than usual vigor through his infernal ministers. But when the Lord is pleased with anything, there is no effort that can disturb Him. Hence when our commander beheld the Indians preparing for the defense, and filling the shore with their lances, darts, campilans, and long shields (which they call *carasag*), and the sea with their boats – to which they give many names, which we pass over – although the commander saw all this, still he did not neglect to announce peace, by means of the father prior, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, and by public act of the notary. But it had no better effect than the preceding efforts. Hence he ordered his artillery to be discharged, somewhat high, so that he might frighten and startle them, without doing them any harm. This succeeded as he expected, for those people, little accustomed to similar reports, immediately abandoned the shore and sea, fleeing more quickly than they had gathered. Thus our men landed without any opposition. The Indians are much more nimble than the Spaniards, and it is very

easy for them to run through their land, while it is difficult for us. Our men were unable to enter and obviate the danger, for, when the firearms were discharged, they set fire to some houses. These were burnt, inasmuch as their material is very inflammable, and with them much food, which, in short, was the greatest loss, for there was great need of it. Without doubt all the village would have been burned had not the wind been contrary, and for the time being favored the other houses, so that they were not burned.

[The eighth chapter of Medina's narrative relates the finding of the image of the child Jesus, which had been left in the island by a member of the Magallanes expedition. Our author exults over this find, which he extols as miraculous, and asserts to be the "greatest relic . . . of the islands."]

CHAPTER IX

Of the subjection of the Indians of Sugbú to the king of España

After the above acts, it appears that affairs began to brighten; for those Indians, after witnessing the kind treatment extended to them, and seeing that the Spaniards were more affable than they appeared on the outside, promised very fair reciprocity. The commander endeavored to ascertain their reason for refusing to the Spaniards provisions and entrance into their land, so decidedly contrary to the laws of hospitality. They answered that they were afraid that the Spaniards' object was to call them to strict account for the death of Magallanes and his men, and that they had come for no other purpose. They

thought that his mildness toward them was only for the purpose of quieting them so that he could later take sharp revenge more easily. The commander believed that they spoke the truth in their reply, and promised to do them no injury whatever for that crime; for on the one hand that affair was already forgotten, and, on the other, the Spaniards' intention was to establish and maintain among them friendly intercourse. Hence, the first step and measure was not to be vengeance, whereby, necessarily, the natives would be exasperated. Moreover the commander told them to bring their chief to him at all hazards, for he wanted to conclude matters at once, and sign the peace. Thereupon, the Indians went, but did not heed the request at all; for, as I have remarked before, this race is generally faithless and obstinate. On the contrary, the Indians endeavored to do all the harm possible to the Spaniards, killing them when they found them alone, and attacking them in their usual rushes, and with outcry and uproar – their peculiar action in war or attack. When the commander saw that his hopes were in vain, and that those barbarians had no intention of acting well, he began, as a good captain, to prepare his camp. He cleared away the palms from his camp, and intrenched himself carefully, in order that when the Indians, according to their custom, should attack him, the result would not be so harmless to themselves that they would not regret it. The Spaniards then began to make their raids into the land, collected what food they could find, and captured what Indians they met. Once they were so fortunate that, besides bringing back to the flagship quantities of rice, and many swine and fowls, which food was being despatched with all rapidity,

they captured six Indian women. Among these was one who occupied so commanding a position that she promised to have Tupas come to the flagship, by means of her husband, who was one of the foremost chiefs of the island.

At this time, the commander began to be established in the island, and accordingly desired to discuss the founding of a city there, to be called Santísimo Nombre de Jesús. He marked out the lines, assigned homesteads, and began to apportion them to those who were to remain there. It was all done according to the plan of Father Urdaneta, who was the chief mover in everything. He marked out a triangular fort, which was constructed rapidly; for the commander took charge of one side, the master-of-camp of another, and the other captains of the third. A site was assigned for the cathedral. Also a site was given to our order, so large that, of a surety – and I agree thereto – the liberality of the Christian commander can only be praised, as well as the zeal of our religious, whereby it appeared that that must amount to something important some day. They did not found their house, as one author says, in the house where the most holy Child was found, for that house was next to the cathedral. There is a very poor hermitage there today. It must be venerated more greatly, for as the devotion went on diminishing, so likewise did the worship. Its roof is of nipa, or palm leaves, which are used as roofing for houses. The sides are boards, and no care, so far as I know, is taken to sweep it. Our convent is situated very far from it, on the shore, which is swept by the vendaval. Between its rock wall and the shore, which is but a short distance, is to be seen the first cross erected there

by our men.[30] Now it has a stone base, and it is enough that it has not been destroyed, inasmuch as we take but little care of antiquities. Although the convent should be the best and most esteemed in the province, as it is, in short, the ancestral house that declares very well our antiquity in the islands, it is, I know not why, the poorest and neediest. It may have been that, as all the wealth passed to Manila, and the capital of the province was established there, this other city was neglected; or because, as the city was declining, so likewise the convent declined. After the above-mentioned acts, those first conquistadors were ordered to make a solemn procession. The whole fleet took part in it, and carried the best ornaments that they could. The most holy Child was carried in this procession to our house, and placed on an altar as decently adorned as was possible in that early period. The first mass of those islands was celebrated there, with more spirit and devotion, than music and splendor. At its conclusion, all took a vow to celebrate annually the feast of the finding of that relic – the twenty-eighth of April, when, as above stated, the feast of St. Vidal is observed. A fraternity of the Most Sacred Name of Jesus was then established, with the same rules as that of St. Augustine in the City of Méjico. This was the beginning of that religious province, this its first stone, and this the first

[30] This cross is still preserved. It was enclosed in an octagonal temple by the Augustinians in the time of the Augustinian bishop of Cebú, Fray Santos Marañón, in order to preserve it from the weather, and from the natives, who, regarding it as miraculous, were accustomed to take splinters from it as relics. The foundation of the enclosure is of stone, and it has a grated window which permits passers-by to see the cross. The latter is wooden, not stone, as Montero y Vidal states in his *Historia general*, i, p. 17. This is the identical cross erected by Magallanes in 1521.– Coco.

foundation – which, beyond all doubt, began from that very moment to promise very great increase. Because of this rock being hewn out of the mountain of its eternity, it fell to the earth with so small an appearance to the eyes, that it seemed a mere pebble. But so great was it in its efficacy, that it has increased so much, that it became a mountain, which occupied no less a space than the whole earth. Hence did those holy religious trust that the foundations of that small stone would increase so much that, within a short time, they would be extended throughout the islands, and that the islands would become subject to the worship of the true God; while everything pertaining to the demon, who held those islanders deceived with innumerable impurities and indecencies, would be wholly cast out from them. These deceits were of such a nature, that had it not been for the feeble intellect of the natives, they would have themselves withdrawn the latter from their blindness.

In the afternoon of the same day, it appeared that the Lord began to take account of the service rendered Him; for he brought ambassadors from the chief, requesting an audience of the commander for the morrow. The commander consented to receive him, and sent the chief a white cloth in token of safe conduct, and that he would be immune from harm. Before Tupas's arrival, the governor – for he was already given this title – called a council to discuss whether it would be expedient to grant the natives general pardon for the killing of Captain Hernando de Magallanes; and whether they should recognize the king of España as their sovereign, and pay some tribute as acknowledgment. Our men decided upon the first two, but left the third for a better occasion,

in order not to exasperate those who were showing signs of obedience. But truly there was little to scruple over, since, with good reason, it was quite proper that the Indians should aid somewhat in an expense so great, as it was being made in their behalf. For up till then four expeditions had been despatched, and the Spaniards who have come here since then are without number. Accordingly, since the government is now established, when the profit accruing from the islands is considered, as well as their expense to his Majesty, the latter is beyond any doubt the greater; besides, España is dispossessed of her sons, and the religious orders of their most illustrious members, who all perish in these islands, without any hope of their ever quitting mere beginnings and having any value *per se*. This I consider, beyond all doubt, as the greatest expense and worthy of consideration; for the mines yield silver and the forests wood, while España only yields Spaniards. It may give so many, that it may become barren, and be obliged to rear children outside, in place of its own. Thus all the foregoing indicates the great zeal of our sovereigns, and that only the love of souls influences them; since the expenses of temporal things are so heavy and the profit nothing. But I hope, through most merciful God, that the spiritual blessings are so many that not only will they equal but surpass the expense; so that if from so heavy expenses resulted only the salvation of even one soul, as says a doctor, our monarchs would be sufficiently remunerated. But it is quite evident that the souls saved are innumerable; for had not the Lord His chosen ones here, He would not have imbued the hearts of our monarchs to persevere in the discovery of these is-

lands; after their discovery, with their colonization; and, after their colonization, with their conservation at so much expense to them. Moreover, the hopes for China and Japón are very great. In Japón, not only are they hopes, but we already see that land sprinkled in all parts with the blood of innumerable martyrs, and as excellent as the primitive church could have. And with such risk, what harvest can not be awaited? Will it be a slight glory for our sovereigns, in the future, that God has chosen them as the instruments to enrich His church with so notable martyrs? Indeed I think that their Majesties have understood this very well. Thus, beyond doubt, their fervor will continue to increase, and will encourage this field, where the Lord gathers so much fruit daily.

Returning now to our subject, I say that, as the third article of the tributes, while they were irresolute and leaving it for another day, the chief Tupas was announced. He was so humbled that everything was concluded to the governor's taste. Tupas made long excuses for his delay – which were accepted then. But he said that he was quite decided to make peace with the Castilians, and to serve them with all his men; since he recognized that, although his were the more numerous, they were inferior in valor to the Spaniards. The natives wished from that moment to consider the Spaniards as their seigniors, and the latter's king as their king. They offered what vassalage was right in recognition of subjection. Thereupon, they signed the treaty of peace under the most advantageous conditions. All was done by act of notary. The governor, in his Majesty's name, gave them a general pardon for the death of Maga-

llanes and his men. He received them under his tutelage and protection, not only to protect them from their enemies, but also to preserve them in peace and justice, as other vassals of their Majesties are preserved. All the Indians rejoiced greatly at this, thus showing that the continual fear of their sin had made them regard so little the courtesies that they had received. They promised amendment in the future, and called upon time to be witness of everything. As to the tribute and recognition, they said that the governor should consider the amount, so that they could deliberate over it. The governor answered that, for the time being, he would assign no tribute; and that they should bring what they deemed fitting, since the Spaniards would be satisfied with little. For that action, he said, was only to show that they were vassals of that one whom they had verbally acclaimed as their sovereign. The governor made them many presents, and showed them all kind treatment; whereupon, they took their leave, to all appearances quite in harmony. The governor was very happy, for he thought that, with that labor, which was not of the least, the undertaking was ended. But that succeeded as the others had done, for the chief did not return, although the governor had him summoned, and begged him to comply with the treaty and agreement, which had been confirmed by so many oaths. But he did not lack excuses to allege. It was understood fully that, because the Indian never lacks plenty of lies, all this was only to make time in order to await a more suitable occasion. Our men dissimulated, for already they were about to despatch the flagship, for which preparations were going on apace.

CHAPTER X

How Father Urdaneta discovered the return passage to Nueva España

Now were preparations for the sailing well advanced, and the season was already well forward, and the governor had all that was yet lacking concluded without any delay. He assigned the men for the voyage, and as commander of the ship "San Pedro," chose his grandson Felipe de Salcedo, a youth of tender years, but possessed of great courage and valor. He subordinated him in all things to the advice of Father Urdaneta; the latter was the one who had been expressly ordered by his Majesty, to discover the [return] route, hitherto unknown to everybody. For company and counsel, Father Urdaneta took father Fray Andrés Aguirre with him. They set sail June 1, 1565. The voyage was prosperous and better than those made now, which are so full of hardships and dangers, as will be seen in the proper place. Father Urdaneta took charge of the ship, for as soon as they had left Sugbú, the pilot and master of the ship died. Even to this circumstance can one ascribe its good fortune, as a ship governed by so great a religious. Setting sail, then, with the vendaval, within a short time they reached the outside of the channel. The ships sailing from Manila do not do this, and are much delayed, because they must run a greater distance within the channel and among more islands. This is not the least danger of the vessels in sailing from the bay of Manila. They need the brisa or east wind; but when the shoals of Silay are reached, they need the vendaval. But, when they sail, they usually go at the height of the vendaval, and many times the ships encounter great danger, and lose their anchors,

and are even wrecked. This does not happen in Sugbú. But they leave port with the vendaval, and get clear of the islands, and in less than twenty hours reach the Spanish sea. They pursue their course with the same vendaval, which brings them to the Ladrones Islands. At this point navigation is difficult, for east winds prevail here, which take vessels going to Nueva España by the bow. Hence, it is necessary to present the side of the vessel to their fury, and to look for north winds. Thus they go forging their way until they reach thirty, thirty-six, or forty degrees, and one has gone as high as fifty degrees. There northwest and north winds are generally blowing, and with these they descend to the coast of Nueva España. In those latitudes great cold is suffered. By the above account the difficulty of this voyage will be realized, for in sailing from Sugbú, which lies in twelve degrees, or from Manila, in thirteen degrees, to Acapulco, in seventeen degrees, a deviation so disproportional as ascending to thirty-four or forty degrees is made. On account of this difference in temperatures, very many of the crew fall sick, die, and endure very great hardship, since the voyages are necessarily long; hence we can say that they make the voyage twice over. In passing, will be declared how deserving of thanks from their state were our religious, and what great service they performed for their two Majesties – the divine and the human – in discovering, with so much toil, this course, which had been impossible hitherto. In addition, not less were their exploits in the islands, in planting the faith therein. Many religious, moved by their zeal, have made these journeys two or three times. Many men died on this voyage, chiefly for

lack of proper nourishment. And reason shows how little they must have taken, since no land would give it to them; for, at the best, they could then only get fowls, swine, and rice (which was their chief food) from the Indians. Thus the entire weight of the voyage was loaded upon the shoulders of our Argonaut, who made it; and he so carried himself that he shirked no toil, although of an advanced age. Every day he cast the lead, took observations, and did everything that seemed advisable for that course. Hence it was God's will that he reached Puerto de la Navidad on October 3, after a voyage of four months and three days. On arriving at port, he made the chart, showing all their routes, winds, points, and capes – so completely, that even today his chart is followed without any additions. For I believe that that chart included everything to be comprehended in that very wide gulf, which is, without doubt, the greatest known. From there he went to Méjico. His return caused not a little wonder in that kingdom, and he was considered as an extraordinary man; for he, invested with the habit, had discovered what so many and so notable men had failed in, and could not accomplish. It was an undertaking that God had reserved for our holy order. Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta remained but a short time in Méjico, for he found a vessel about to sail to España, and he took passage thereon, together with his companion, father Fray Andrés de Aguirre. He arrived in España safely, where he informed his Majesty fully of all that he had done in his service, in obedience to his order; and also of the state of affairs in Filipinas, and the necessity for their succor, if the undertaking was to be continued. His Majesty granted him audience

with great kindness, and considered himself well served in all that had been accomplished. He gave orders that father Fray Andrés and his companion should be supplied with all necessities while they remained at court.

Father Urdaneta settled all matters pertaining to these islands very carefully and satisfactorily. When everything was concluded, he requested leave of the members of the Council to return to Nueva España, where he desired to finish his days in peace. The Council asked him to wait a while, so that after his Majesty had concluded affairs in Flandes, with which he was very busy, he could hear him at leisure and remunerate his great labors. Father Urdaneta replied that his object in coming to court was only to inform his Majesty of what had been ordered him, and he was sure that in the services that he had performed after he became a religious (reward for which he wished from God alone) he had no other aim than to obey his superiors, and at the same time to serve his Majesty for the alms and favors that he had granted to the Augustinian order in the Indias. Finally, they had to grant him this permission, although first his Majesty granted him audience very willingly, and showed himself as capable in those matters as in all others of his kingdom and seigniory. Thereupon, the two fathers, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and Fray Andrés de Aguirre, took passage for Nueva España, where they arrived in good health, after much wandering and shipwreck. Father Urdaneta lived after this, until June 23, 1568, when our Lord was pleased to take him, to reward him, as is believed, with His eternal rest. At his death he was seventy years old, less some months. He wore

the habit for fifteen years, which we believe were of great merit; for he was ever an austere religious, very poor, very humble, and beyond belief obedient – things which in heaven he will have found well gained. Father Fray Andrés de Aguirre, Father Urdaneta's companion in his wanderings and labors, remained in the province of Méjico until the year 1580, when he returned to Filipinas, moved by great and powerful reasons, namely, sentiments of holiness and the increase of those provinces. He was made provincial, and as we shall see later, he went again to España, where after negotiating all that he wished with his Majesty, he returned to Méjico. Here he despatched all the affairs with which he was charged, and settled down to a life of rest. But in the year 1593, he thought he was not employing well in a life of rest the health that God had given him, and therefore returned to Filipinas, where he served our Lord for the rest of his days, until he died, to enter upon the joy of eternity.

CHAPTER XI

Of what was passing in the Filipinas

It appears that matters at Sugbú were now running more smoothly, for that chief, the husband of the Indian princess (whom the governor ordered to be treated with consideration), collected as much as he could carry, and came into the governor's presence, to give it to him in exchange for his wife. The governor, who saw the way opened for a great stroke, told him that his wife was not a captive, nor did the Spaniards come with any intention whatever of capturing the people, but rather to give liberty to

those who were captives. There was his wife, and he could ascertain from her what treatment had been shown her, and he could take her away at once, together with what he had brought to ransom her. As soon as that barbarian heard this, he wept for joy, and threw himself at the governor's feet, which he tried to kiss. He said that the Castilians were in truth good men, and that the reports that the Indians had had hitherto were malicious. The people that acted thus could only have good bowels and a guileless heart – this is their peculiar mode of expression. His wife was given to him, whereat he was very happy. They talked so well to the Chief Tupas, that he came in the morning with a great following of his slaves, friends, and relatives, the most gallant that could come in his train. All, in sincerity and without pretense, offered themselves again to the service of the Castilas [*i.e.*, Castilians], as they called and continue to call the Spaniards. Three of the fathers remained in the island, namely, father Fray Martín de Rada, father Fray Diego de Herrera, and father Fray Pedro de Gamboa. These began, with great assiduity, to study the language, to endeavor to teach the Indians, and to instruct them in the holy mysteries of our faith. The Indians listened closely and attentively to them. He who accomplished most was father Fray Martín de Rada, who, being a man of great imagination, in a short time laid up great riches, and made considerable gain among the natives. And, in fact, when I was in the island of Sugbú in the year 1612, as a conventual in the convent of the natives, called San Nicolás, I saw a lexicon there, compiled by father Fray Martín de Rada, which contained a great number of words. This must have been of no

little aid to those who came afterward. The fathers did not dare baptize the Indians immediately; for, on the one hand, they feared their fickleness, since they knew with what ease those who had received baptism in the time of General Magallanes, had apostatized. Besides, the fathers did not know what orders would be given them, or whether they would be commanded to retire. Thus they were very considerate and circumspect in everything, but did not neglect, for all that, to labor in the field, in order that they might afterward gather abundance of fruit.

The religious endeavored to have the children of the most prominent people come to the convent, or to that house wherein they were living, in order that they might give them instruction, and teach them to read and write. Since they were the newest plants, necessarily they would receive the teaching better, and the new customs would be impressed more easily upon them than on those already hardened and petrified in their old customs. The Indians assented readily to this, for already with their subjection, they felt some indescribable superiority in the Spaniards which obliged them to regard the latter with fear and respect. Much more so did they regard the fathers, upon seeing the reverence with which the captains treated them, who always kissed their hands on seeing them. This custom has remained even until the present in the islands. However, they do not kiss the hand, but the habit or girdle. I suppose that the fathers' modesty would not permit the captains to kiss the hand, and they substituted therefor the habit or girdle. Upon the Indians seeing this, they have followed the same custom. Consequently, as a rule, when an Indian comes to talk to a father, he kisses the

latter's hand. With this instruction that the fathers continued to give the youth, the Indians were becoming more harmonized, and began to lose their previous horror of the Spaniards, and on the other hand, to love them. Most of them begged the fathers to please make them Christians.

A miracle which happened at that time aided in this. A fire catching in some of the soldiers' quarters on a holiday (namely, All-Saints' day of 1566), many houses were burned, among them that in which the fathers were living. Meanwhile another and larger house was being built. The religious had erected a bamboo cross at the door of the said house. The bamboos are very thick in those islands and so plentiful that they are used for masts and yards for the caracoas; and they make the best, for they are very strong, of slight weight, and can be raised and lowered easily. Then the fire breaking out so furiously had burned more than thirty houses within an incredibly short time, and among these was ours. The flame enveloped the cross on all sides, but did not burn it, or even smoke it. When the religious saw the present marvel, they had the bells rung as a sign of rejoicing. Upon the Spaniards and Indians coming to see what was the matter, they looked at it not without great wonder, for wonder was caused by the fire's so great respect for that cross. From that time the natives began to have a deeper idea of the mysteries preached to them by the religious, since they saw the proof of them with their own eyes.

Another miracle almost similar happened in Nueva España, when that great pirate Franco Draque [*i.e.*, Francis Drake] was coasting those shores. He was English by nation, but had been

reared many years in España;[31] so that the proverb which says, "Rear a crow, and it will tear your eye out," might be fulfilled. When this man was passing through the Strait of Magallanes, and coasting the southern shores, then much neglected, many were the depredations that he committed. He set fire to whatever he found, and burned it in his fury. When he arrived at the coast of Colima [in Peru], there was a shipyard in one of those ports, where a frigate was being built for the pearl-fishery. It was already completed below its cabin. Draque ordered it fired, and such was its material that it was quickly converted into ashes. But a cross which had been raised above the cabin was uninjured by the fire, as a thing against which flames have no power. Running through the land and along the coasts, the citizens of the town of Colima came to the cabin, and among its ashes saw the cross, clean and shining. This gave them no little consolation, and they regarded that occurrence as a miracle, namely, that the fire that had destroyed so great a structure, had reserved only the cross. The citizens did not keep it, but cut it into splinters, and divided it among themselves. Although one cannot but praise their zeal in this, yet it would have been better had they adorned a church with it, so that the memory of the miracle would last longer.

CHAPTER XII

Of several who were baptized

[The miracle of the cross and the efforts put forth

[31] This statement is an error. Drake's first trip to Spain was made to the Biscayan coast in 1564, and was only for the voyage. See Julian Corbett's *Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1890).

by the fathers bore fruit, and the natives began to request baptism. The first to receive the holy sacrament was a niece of Tupas, who was named Isabel. The ceremony was celebrated with great pomp, " for among the Indians, no sense is so strong as sight. This is so great a truth that they regard as nothing any Castilian whom they see abased and ragged. On the contrary, when they see any Castilian who makes a show, they immediately call him ' Captain,' and canonize him under this name, although he does not deserve to be even a soldier. The same is true in regard to the religious, of which I could say much because of my experience therein of more than twenty-two years. They esteem the prior greatly, but his companion very little. They think that the religious who lives better and has the greater number of servants, is a great chief. They believe the contrary of him who does not live with so much ostentation. It happened that a religious was going to visit the chapels of that district where he lived. He, with the spirit that he brought from Castilla, intended to commence with the greatest poverty, so that he took neither bed nor refreshment. An Indian, who was going along as cook, on considering that, said that that father was going in that way, because he must be some *bañaga* in his own country – that is, low and base by birth. Another time, when the same religious was going barefoot, like the natives, because of the poor roads (for there is nothing good in these islands), their edification was to make a sound like castanets with the mouth, saying that he was a strong and brave man. Hence arose the saying that I heard from Father Bernabé de Villalobos,[32] a notable min-

[32] Fray Bernabé Villalobos was born in León, and professed

ister of the Bisayas, who labored many years in the salvation of souls, namely, that if he wished to ascend to any dignity, although he would endeavor to be as humble as possible before God, he would show the utmost grandeur outwardly, so that the natives might recognize the majesty of the dignity by the exterior. From this also arises their not agreeing to or believing in anything, unless they see it. Thus in discussing the glory of heaven, or the pains of hell with them, they reply that if they do not see it how then can they believe it?"[33] Isabel was married, after her baptism, to Maestre Andrés, a calker of the fleet. The wedding was also celebrated with great show. Her son and others of her household were the next to receive baptism. The Bornean Moro, who served the Spaniards so well among the islands, was also converted, "a baptism of great importance . . . for this Moro was the key to all the islands, as he was well known in them all; and so much faith was put in him, that he was obeyed as little less than king." Mahometanism has secured a foothold in the islands, and the natives are constant in it as it does not forbid "stealing or homicide, does not prohibit usury, hatred, or robbery, nor less does it deprive them of their women, in which vice they are sunken, and the women no less than the men. So much are the

in the Augustinian convent of San Felipe el Real. He went to the Philippines in 1590, where he had charge of missions in Halaud (1591), Panay (1593), and Otón (1596). He was twice prior of Manila (1602 and 1613), twice of Cebú (1606 and 1618), and definitor (1616), and later labored in the Tagál missions. His death occurred at Manila in 1646. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 41.

[33] Compare the materialism of the North American Indians, in Cleveland reissue of *Jesuit Relations*, viii, p. 119; xx, p. 71; l, p. 289.

latter sunken in this vice, that they considered it the choicest thing, and in their revelries were wont, while singing, to fit out a caracoa (a medium-sized vessel ten or twelve brazas long) with those who have been their gallants; and for more verification of this assertion, the women did not allow any man to have communication with them unless he had a *sacra*, that is a small jagged wheel, like the wheel of St. Catherine, with its points blunted. That wheel was set with a bronze pin, which was thrust through it; for from an early age the males pierced their privies with these, and by means of them had communication with the women, as if they were dogs. All of that has been done away with by the gospel and its ministers, and they have grieved over it as at death. That would not be taken from them but rather supported by the Mahometan law. They endeavor to give themselves with great satiety to the eating of pork and the drinking of wine, and they stuff themselves from time to time, never losing an occasion that is offered. Many of those injuries which the devil was working in the souls of those natives have been remedied; and I hope, with the help of His Divine Majesty, that the evil seed will be truly eradicated from these islands with the lapse of time, so that the seed sown by His ministers may increase and bear a most plentiful harvest." Our author continues:]

But the enemy of the human race, who recognized his loss, and that the progress of the diabolical worship of Mahomet, by which he wished to gain these islands, was shortened by our coming, tried to concoct a scheme to drive the Spaniards from the islands, since there were no longer any forces sufficient to drive them out. For although the islanders were

many in number, so great was their horror of the arquebuses and other firearms, that the very report of these made them tremble. They did not consider themselves safe from their balls and fire, even in the deepest woods. Hence what we now hold was subdued in a short time, of which a thousand years ago not one palmo would have been gained, but rather lost. Hence in order to succeed in his designs against us, the devil made use of another nation, as Spanish as the Castilians, and of equal arms and courage. He contrived that they should come from Maluco, where they had been for some days, and with equal forces descend upon the Castilians in Sugbú to drive them out. They claimed that they found the latter on territory that was theirs, and belonged to the kingdom of Portugal. Over this matter there were not a few contests and glorious triumphs, which must be passed by, for it will be the Lord's will to have them published some day by him who may write the general history of these islands, so that so heroic exploits may not remain buried in the abyss of oblivion.

Because of this, our Spaniards found themselves in dire need of all things. They had few men, and little ammunition, and the land where the war was carried on was not so well-affected as they wished; for the temperament of the natives made them incline toward the victor, and persecute the conquered. But, notwithstanding this, the Spaniards were so courageous in defending what they already possessed that they were prepared to give up their lives rather than one palmo of land. However, the governor, as a good Christian, had the religious summoned, and requested them to consider the matter, so that when the truth was known fully, and what justice they had on

their side, they might, with greater courage, defend their cloak from him who was trying to take it away by violence. . . .

[The fathers deliberated, and Father Rada, who "was not only a very great theologian, but was the wisest man in the world in mathematics, geography, astronomy, astrology, and the foretelling of events," made a chart on which he showed Alexander VI's line. By this he proved the islands well within Spain's demarcation. They had also been taken possession of for Spain by Magallanes. These proofs did not satisfy the Portuguese, however, and they continued their attempts.]

CHAPTER XIII

Of what the religious did in the islands, and how they baptized Tupas

[During the conflict with the Portuguese, the fathers, as became spiritual advisers, did their duty, and bore their full part. The continual illness of Father Gamboa rendered necessary greater activity on the part of Fathers Herrera and Rada. With great effort they succeeded in baptizing the chief Tupas, well knowing the effect the baptism of such a great chief would have upon the other natives, who were completely in the power of their chiefs. With him was baptized his son. The effect was immediate, and natives of Cebú and all the neighboring islands requested baptism. The patache "San Juan" arrived at the island from New Spain in 1569, with two more religious: Juan de Alba,[34] who had spent more

[34] Fray Juan de Alva was born of an illustrious family in Segovia, and professed in the Augustinian convent at Toledo in 1514. In 1535 he went to Mexico, where he labored for thirty-

than thirty-three years in New Spain; and Alonso Giménez,[35] "who quickly learned the language of these islands." It was resolved to send one religious to New Spain "to look after the affairs of the islands, and get colonists for them from the many workmen in Nueva España." The lot fell to Father Diego de Herrera, and he set sail, after having been elected as the first provincial of the Philippines. Medina says: "The intention of the religious is not known. For they had no order from the most reverend general to create a provincial, and such an order was necessary. Their object is unknown, but it is well known that the said father Fray Diego de Herrera was despatched and arrived at Nueva España, bearing this title." His mission in New Spain and Spain proved successful, and advantageous to the islands; and he set sail again for the Philippines with a number of religious. Of the three religious remaining in the islands, after Father Herrera's departure – for

three years. At the age of seventy-two he went to the Philippines, landing at Cebú in 1569. He labored successfully in Panay, and founded the church of Dumangas. In 1572 he was elected first prior of the convent of Manila and definitor, after which (1575) he began the foundation of Pásig. He became rector provincial of the Philippines in 1576, and died at Manila, September 17, 1577. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 8.

[35] Fray Alonso Jiménez was a native of Málaga, and took his vows in the Augustinian convent at Mexico in 1558. He accompanied Juan de Alva to the Philippines, where he voted in the first provincial chapter. He was the first missionary to the islands of Masbate, Leyte, Samar, and Burias. Thence he went to Ibalon in the province of Camarines, where he resided several years, and made many excursions into Albay and Sorsogón. He was prior of Cebú in 1575. Endowed with great facility in learning languages, he became known as the first linguist of the islands. His death occurred in August, 1577, at the Cebú convent. He composed a catechism in the Bicol language. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 9.

Father Gamboa had already been sent back on the "San Lúcas," because of his continual ill-health – Martín de Rada remained in Cebú, Juan de Alba went to the Alaguer River in Panay, and Alonso Jiménez to Ibalon. "There, in those ministries, the religious were learning the language with the greatest assiduity, in order to be able to preach and confess, and to teach the mysteries of our faith."]

CHAPTER XIV

How our religious went to the island of Luzón, and of other matters that arose there

As time passed, it appears that we continued to attain more and more favorable results in enlarging the Spanish dominion and empire among the islands, and in extending likewise the name of Christ our Lord, for the adoration and reverence of those barbarous nations. This year the return of the father provincial, Fray Diego de Herrera, who had gone the year before to Nueva España, as above related, and returned the following year, was made most prosperously, and with incredible rapidity. It seems that he had put his hand carefully to the work, which he had already commenced, and desired to see it assume a wider extent, and to have those fields full of workers. He was exceedingly well received in Nueva España, and so much caressed, that all were importunate to embrace him again and again, not being satisfied with simply embracing him whom they saw visibly as the apostle of China – the name by which they designated these islands. They promised him munificent help in advancing the undertaking. On that account was his return so prompt. He was ac-

companied by two religious, namely, father Fray Diego Ordóñez [36] and father Fray Diego de Espinar.[37] He bore the despatches that Father Urdaneta had negotiated. In them, his Majesty ordered the Filipinas Islands to be colonized, so that, by that means, the conversion of those races might be advanced better, which the Augustinian order had already begun, with so much labor, to secure. And besides the service that was being rendered to our Lord therein, his Majesty was pleased, and thanked them for the same.

His Majesty sent the title of adelantado to the commander, for himself and for his heirs, with the warrant for this privilege with pendant seal. This was extended to the Ladrones Islands, which were the first that he discovered and took possession of. That clause declares: "Just as (says his Majesty) our adelantados of the kingdoms of Castilla and of the Indias enjoy and exercise this title; you shall have

[36] Fray Diego Ordóñez Vivar was a native of Guadalajara in Nueva Galicia, and professed in the convent of Mexico in 1557. Arriving at the Philippines in 1570 he became the first missionary to Bulacán in 1572, provincial secretary in 1580 and 1584, minister at Hagonoy in 1582 and 1587, procurator-general in 1583, and minister at Tondo in 1594 and 1599. He died in Pampanga in 1603. Agustín Maria, O.S.A., in his *Osario Venerable* (still unpublished) says that Ordóñez was in Japan and was an eyewitness of the martyrdom of the Franciscans in 1596. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 9, 10.

[37] Fray Diego de Espinar was born in Toledo and entered a convent in Castilla. Almost immediately upon his arrival at Cebú (1570) he was assigned to the region about Laguna de Bay. He was the first missionary at Bonbón (1575), Mindoro (1578), Parañaque (1580), and Candaba (1581). He took part in the first diocesan council celebrated by Bishop Salazar; and in 1587 went to Macao, where he lived until 1596. While returning to Manila in the latter year he was wrecked and drowned between Mindanao and Borneo (1597). He had been definitor in 1581. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 10.

all the honors, concessions, favors, franchises, privileges and exemptions, preëminences, prerogatives, and immunities, which, as our adelantado, you should possess and enjoy."

The above is given place here, because, on the one hand, it was negotiated by our religious; and, on the other, to show ourselves grateful to him who loved and protected us in everything. Moreover, his Majesty sent him leave to apportion the encomiendas among the deserving, as seemed best to his judgment. The governor was very grateful for all the favors received from his Majesty. He was not puffed up, but more than ever devoted to his service; for no fetters bind the good so tightly as do kindnesses, which are strong shackles, with which they are held within just limits. *Compedes namque invenit qui benefacta invenit.*[38]

The adelantado – for so shall we call him now – became more fully and correctly informed of all the islands; and learned that that of Sugbú was not adequate, on account of its sterility, to sustain the empire of the Spaniards. He had been informed also that the island of Luzón, or that of Manila, would be the best for him in everything; because of being, on the one hand, the largest of the islands – for it had a coast of more than two hundred leguas, and was almost four hundred in circumference – and being on the other, more thickly settled with people, who would be more prompt to sustain the Spaniards. And above all it was nearer China, whose trade, it was hoped, would prove of great advantage, not only for those who might colonize the islands, but also for all España. For that exceedingly vast kingdom abounds

[38] "For he finds shackles who finds kindnesses."

in whatever can be desired to sustain life, and is such that, since it has so many people who have no room to live on land, many make their habitations on the sea in certain small champáns, a sort of boat, very suitable for them. Nevertheless, the large vessels with chapas, and those of lesser size, are well nigh innumerable; and they sail annually to surrounding countries, laden with food and merchandise. Forty, and upwards, were wont to come to Manila alone. In the year 1631, although then not [many of them] were coming, the number amounted to fifty, counting large and small vessels. We will not mention those that go to Japón; and although, in going there, they experience very great trouble, still a constant stream of vessels go thither, for great profits are derived there. These vessels go to Siam, Camboja, Borney, Maluco, and Macasar. In short, they coast and go everywhere, and carry iron, quicksilver, silk, rice, pork, gold, and innumerable other things, without causing any deficiency for their own sustenance. They carry away all the silver in the world; and even that of Europa, or its value, is about to cease, for the Portuguese and other nations, as the English and Hollanders, carry it to the Sangleys, without a single piece of money, or one real's worth of silver, leaving their own country. Thus (and I do not deceive myself in saying it) the kingdom of China is the most powerful in the world; and we might even call it the world's treasury, since the silver is imprisoned there, and is given an eternal prison. And if there were no more silver there than what has been taken from Mexico during sixty-six years of trade, it could make them most wealthy; and much more so, inasmuch as the Mexican silver is not the most that they get, for

they take much from other quarters. They are the most greedy for and affectioned to silver of any race known. They hold it in the greatest esteem, for they withdraw the gold from their own country in order to lock up the silver therein. And when they see silver, they look at it admiringly. I am writing not from hearsay, but from the sight and experience of many years. Consequently, he who has any silver, and takes passage with them, is not safe. *Deprædari ergo desiderat qui thesaurum publice portat in via.*[39] It would not be bad if they only despoiled him, but they will beat him most cruelly with clubs, which they use as weapons. Great misfortunes have happened in these islands, some of which will be recounted in the proper place. Nevertheless, the Spaniard does not notice that no one receives any harm [from the Chinaman], except when he opens the doors to him, and brings him into his house. Besides this they are excellent merchants, and are very tractable; and in this regard they are far ahead of the Japanese. The Sangley, or Chinaman (for the two are one), when he makes any profit in his merchandise, trusts and waits very accommodatingly. We shall treat of their other customs as occasion offers. This trade, then, must doubtless have influenced our adelantado in going to the land nearest it, in addition to his own comfort, which was found there with advantages. Accordingly, when he had prepared his fleet of caracoas – the most suitable war-vessel in the islands – they set sail with them after two o'clock at night, with oar and sail, taking advantage of the weather.

[39] St. Gregory, *Homil. II in Evangelia.*– Coco.
Englished, this reads: "Therefore, he desires to plunder him who carries a public treasure along the street."

At five in the afternoon, they reached land and made port, where the men ate, and took what wood and water were necessary. These boats have bamboo counter-balances at the side, whereby it appears that they sail more securely; for the canes, being large and hollow, have great sustaining power. It has happened that a sea-going caracoa has kept continually above water during a hurricane, until driven by the waves upon some island; and, as there are so many islands, they cannot fail to strike one. The Indians embarked very willingly with the adelantado, for their greatest pleasure consists in cutting off a head. And they desired all the others to be subjects, since they were; and that no one should escape the fire, but that the law should be universal. Besides, the Bisayans were generally at war with the inhabitants of Manila – who were now Moros, through contact with Borney, and captured the former, since they were men of greater valor; and now the Bisayans wished to prove whether they could use their swords and cutlasses against them under the protection of Castilla. Father Fray Diego de Herrera went with the adelantado. He seemed tireless, and wished only at one stroke to take everything for God, whose zeal moved him.

They arrived, then, at that island, after reducing to their service on the way, all the islands in their path. These are not few, such as those of Masbate, Sibuyan or Sigan, Bantong, Romblón, Marinduque, and Mindoro. The island of Manila is as large as I have already stated. Access to it is obtained through [a bay with] two entrances, which are caused by an island between them, called Mariveles. There is a corregidor there, whose only duty is to set fires on

the highest part of the island.[40] These are seen from Manila, and give notice of what is passing, in accordance with the signals that the governor has made or given. A Chinese vessel is signaled by one fire; one from Macán by two; one from India by three; and one from Castilla by four. Both entrances are navigable, for both are very deep. Then the entrance expands into the most beautiful bay that I think the world possesses; for it is more than forty leguas in circumference.[41] Anchorage can be found in all parts of it, and its maximum depth is not over forty brazas. The bottom is sand and mud, without a single pebble. A marvelous number of rivers and creeks empty into the bay, which cause the latter to be more frequented. It is so filled with fish that, although so great a town is fed by them, it never begs alms outside. When the vendavals blow, the weather is terrific; for they come from the sea, and the waves sweep in from the

[40] This islet is today called Corregidor. The name Mariveles is applied to the mountain ridge in the southern part of Bataan Province, whose brow forms, with Corregidor, one of the entrances to Manila Bay. It is a great pity that Corregidor is not well fortified, in case of war with a foreigner, as it is a very strategic point, and the key to the port and city of Manila.– Coco.

[41] Buzeta and Bravo, *Diccionario Geográfico*, say that Manila Bay is thirty-three leguas in circumference, and has a maximum depth of thirty-five brazas.

Manila Bay is one of the finest bays in the world and by far the best in the Far East. It will accommodate all the fleets of the world. Its greatest dimensions are from Tubutubu Island in the estuary of Orani, bay of Pampanga, in the northwest angle of the shore of the greater bay, to Las Piñas, thirty-five miles, near the boundary between Cavite and Rizal; and from the delta of the river Grande Pampanga, on the shores of Bulacán in the northeast, to Corregidor Island, southwest, thirty-one miles. It is one hundred and twenty miles in circumference. Five of the important rivers of the archipelago empty into it. See *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, p. 186.

sea, and become so violent that ships cannot navigate without great danger. Since the vessels are laden in the time of vendaval season, and the distance from Manila to Cavite – the port – is two leguas eastward, the crossing is very dangerous during the vendaval, and great misfortunes have occurred, both to property and to life, without the governors being able to remedy it – or rather, caring to do so, for they could easily remedy it. But let us leave their government, which does not concern us. The settlement, then most flourishing, was located where the city of Manila is situated, namely, at the mouth of the Pasig River where it empties into the sea, and on the south side of it. On the north side is located another settlement, which formerly was very large, and even now is not small; for what it lacks in Tagáls, it makes up in Chinese Christians, and those who have settled there. It is called Tondo,[42] and our convent there is a very handsome building, being entirely of cut stone. The convent contains the equipage of the father provincials, who have gone there to live. This seems well advised, because they do not stay in Manila, nor can they stay there; and by this method they save themselves innumerable inconveniences and importunities. Besides, whenever necessary, they can reach Manila very quickly by taking a boat just outside the court of the church and descending a salt-water stream; then they cross the Pasig River – all this in less than one-half hour – and disembark at the very gate of Santo Domingo. Our adelantado

[42] Tondo now contains 39,043 civilized inhabitants. It is the most northerly and populous district along the bay shore above the Pásig. Its inhabitants are largely engaged in the tobacco and cigar industries, and in fishing, weaving, and gardening for the Manila market. See Bulletin No. 1 of the Census Bureau, and *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, p. 188.

thought rightly that the conflict with those Moros must cost much blood, as the latter were aided by many other towns – both along the coast, and up along the river – which endure unto this day, still as flourishing and numerous as before. Already these peoples had been informed of events in Sugbú, of the victory over the Portuguese, and the subjection of the other islands. It seemed a difficult thing for them to stem the tide, and to kick against the pricks; and accordingly, they came to regard as well that which – according as affairs were going, with wind and tide in favor of the adelantado – they should have considered as ill.

The greatest chiefs of that country then were the old Rajá, Rajá Solimán, and Lacandola. These men, as they already observed the pernicious worship of Mahoma, imitated Mahometan names, as well as their customs. On the part of the Spaniards, their coming thither and the advantages that the natives could derive therefrom were proposed. These would not be few, since they would enjoy entire peace, whereby all their affairs would prosper. *Fiat pax in virtute tua et abundantia.*[43] The principal thing would be, that they would be freed from the error of the law under which they were living; for the only true law, and way of salvation, was the law of the Christians. That law those religious whom the Spaniards brought there would teach them. The religious had come with only this object, and time would prove the truth. All this was very easy for them, but in what pertains to the changing of the law they found most difficulty; for they thought that they could attain life eternal by means of the law under which they were

[43] Psalms cxxi, 7.– Coco.

living. The cursed Mahoma made the law, and ordered his believers not to dispute his law; for he knew that his lies would immediately be laid open at the first attack. On the other hand he advised them that each one was saved by his own law. Therefore, cursed demon, if thus you have advised, how in spite of torments, do you contrive that your law is received? This law Mahoma introduced into the world with force and arms. I am not surprised that these natives were so sorry to leave their religion, for they were persuaded that there was salvation thereby. But they preferred to follow Mahoma – homicide, drunkard, incestuous, robber, and sensual – than Christ, exposed naked on a cross, who preached fasting, mortification, chastity, penitence, love for one's enemy, and other virtues. The Borneans who were living in their country offered the greatest opposition to them, and were persuading them to the contrary, with the cessation of their cursed religion. But as this was a matter that could not be concluded in one day, but only gradually, and they had to be convinced of their errors and superstitions by the true and forcible arguments of our religion, it was left for the fathers – whose fasting, abstinence, prayers, and sermons were to cast out that demon, so strongly fortified in the hearts of those poor wretches. *Hoc genus (demoniorum) non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.*[44]

Upon this, those Moros or Tagáls received the peace offered them, and rendered homage to King Don Felipe, our sovereign – whom may God keep in His glory – and to his successors, the sovereigns of España. The adelantado set up the standard for him and in his name. This was concluded and effected in

[44] Matthew xvii, 20.– Coco.

the year 1571, day of the glorious St. Andrew, the patron saint of Manila. On that day, the standard is carried in that city, the capital of the islands, in the same manner as we related in describing the city of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús in the island of Sugbú. It is now carried with much less pomp than formerly, for all things are declining; and as affairs had their beginning, so they must have their middle and their end, for they are perishable and finite, and consequently must end.

CHAPTER XV

Continuation of the preceding chapter

Inasmuch as all one's affairs are subject to change, those things which apparently have greatest stability show, when one least thinks it, their defects [*muestran la hilaza*] and reveal their mutability. So it happened here. The adelantado was very happy indeed at the extremely good outcome of events, and at the peace so fortunately obtained in a matter, which, in his constant opinion, to buy cheaply had to be at the cost of much bloodshed. For everything he, as so thorough a servant of God, rendered thanks to the Lord, whose will governs all things; and man on his part does but little. But his happiness was of short duration, for that inconstant race, with the ease already mentioned, turned about, and tried to employ war in order to relieve themselves from the yoke that had been placed on their necks – in their opinion with little wisdom [on their part]; for without testing the ranks of the foreign enemy they had surrendered their land, where each one is a lion. In short, they perjured themselves, after having given their word, by breaking it. But as the Moro keeps no

promise, except when to his own advantage, they made their forts and mounted therein a few small pieces obtained by exchange from Borney – whence they obtained these things, as being related by religion. All was already war and the din thereof, so that, necessarily, the voices of the preachers were not listened to – although, as they were so fervent, they did not discontinue performing their duties and efforts with all, and busying themselves in learning the [native] language. For, although nearly all the languages resemble one another in construction, yet they have so many different words that each one must be learned with special care, so that the native can better understand the father. The Tagál language is the principal one spoken in the island of Luzón. Father Fray Diego de Ordóñez learned this language very quickly, and with it obtained what result those warlike confusions and rumors permitted him. The aged and holy Fray Juan de Alba, who had previously been stationed in the river Alaguer, in the island of Panay, had come with father Fray Diego de Herrera. Although one would think that his advanced years would excuse him from learning like a child, yet, to the end that he might serve our Lord, whose work it was, he endeavored to become young, even making it his duty. And what is more, while the struggle was in progress, and a general stampede was looked for daily, he descended to the hostile natives, contrary to the advice of many, preached to them, taught them, and exhorted them to peace, without on that account being in any evident danger, for the Lord protected him as another prophet Elias.

[The religious hold an important position in the colony. In 1571 two vessels bring an increase of six

fathers: Alonso de Alvarado,[45] one of the Villalobos expedition; Gerónimo Marín,[46] who afterward goes to China, and transacts affairs in Mexico and Spain; Francisco de Ortega,[47] who dies as bishop of Camarines; Agustin de Alburquerque,[48] who becomes provincial; Francisco Merino;[49] and Juan de Orta.[50] All of these die in the islands. The first fruit of these religious is the old Raja, who is baptized while sick. At his death he is interred with Christian rites. Father Alvarado, filled with zeal, fearlessly ascends the Pasig River and preaches in Laguna de Taguig and Tay-

[45] See VOL. VI, p. 115, note 27.

[46] See VOL. VI, p. 88, note 22.

[47] See VOL. IX, p. 95, note 18.

[48] Fray Agustín de Alburquerque was a native of Castilla, and professed at the convent of Salamanca. Batangas became the theater of his missionary labors in the islands. He was definitor in 1572, prior of Tondo in 1575, and prior provincial in 1578, renouncing to the Franciscans during his term the *omnimoda* ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He tried to sell himself as a slave, in order that he might introduce Christianity into China. He is the author of the first or second Tagál grammar, the Franciscans claiming that the first was written by Fray Juan de Plasencia. He died in 1580. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 13, 14.

[49] Fray Francisco Merino took his vows in the Augustinian province of Castilla. After his arrival in the islands he labored in the province of Iloílo until his death. Although he was proposed as one of the associates of Father Rada on the latter's memorable journey to China in 1576, Jeróninio Marín went in his stead; while he himself accompanied Juan de Salcedo and Pedro Chaves on the Camarines expedition. He died in 1581. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 14.

[50] Fray Juan de Orta, born in Moguer, in the province of Huelva, professed in the convent of Mexico in 1558. He was a novice under Urdaneta. Shortly after his arrival at the islands, he learned the Bicol language, in which he evangelized with great success. A number of villages founded by him were later handed over to the care of the Franciscans. In 1575 he returned to Manila to help the prior there, where he worked zealously, having in charge also until his death (in Manila on Palm Sunday, 1577) the village of Parañaque. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 12.

tay, where he is peaceably received. The Tagáls are soon convinced of the good intentions and mildness of the Spaniards, and begin readily to receive the faith. Medina continues:]

Two buildings were being erected in Manila, for the temporal and the spiritual. The temporal was in the shape of a fort, which was being built. With such a possession friends feel secure, enemies fear, and one's strength is increased. How much the spiritual edifice was growing is seen, since the number of workers was increasing, the people were becoming more and more capable of understanding what we were teaching them, and were estimating the inequality between the two beliefs. Hence it was needful that they should embrace what was good, and throw away the other as wicked and evil. The fathers kept school in the convent. They taught the boys to read and reckon. They were training some of them in the sacristy, teaching them to aid in the mass; so that, by having nearer at hand what we were teaching them, they should learn it more easily. All this was necessary in order to conquer natives, who were so hardened and so much accustomed to evil, that they regarded everything evil as good. For to such a pass can evil come, as says the prophet Isaiah: *Væ qui dicitis bonum malum.*[51] And as the lads returned home every day with something new, which they told to their fathers and mothers, the result was that they gave the latter food for reflection, which caused the spark to course through their hearts; and as the spark was fire, and still more from God, it must strike deep and work its effect. Thus the number of Christians continued to increase. And, not less, certain hopes

[51] Isaiah v, 20.– Coco.

arose that they would be multiplied daily, and extended through all those nations who were viewing events in Luzón, as being the greatest island of all, and with the most warlike inhabitants.

A site had been chosen for the convent, which is today the best in the city, and the largest and finest; for it comprises an entire square, equal on each side. It has a vaulted church with its transept. The body of the church is adorned on each side with chapels. Truly, if the chapels had been built higher, according to the plan, so that there might have been a series of windows above, where the light would enter, it would rank with the fine buildings of España. But the lack of light is unfortunate for it. It has a very fine stone cloister, accompanied by its cells. There is a vault underneath also. All of this work has proved excellent, for although it is in a place where frequent earthquakes occur, it has suffered no damage of consequence.[52] Rather, I think that the fathers of the Society, upon seeing this, have planned to build their church with a vault, and are correcting in it the faults of ours. Thus it will result in a very fine building indeed, and just as the affairs of that so distinguished and holy order are wont to result. The rest is yet to be built, for now everything is very dear. Since the money is derived from outside sources, they

[52] This edifice is still in existence. It is the only one with a stone vault which has been constructed in the archipelago. It resisted with but little damage the series of most severe earthquakes which devastated Manila so frequently. The earthquake of 1880 split one of its towers, which the fathers of the convent afterward ordered to be pulled down. The church is the most capacious and beautiful in Manila, in spite of these circumstances. Its architect was the Augustinian lay-brother Fray Antonio Herrara, nephew or son of the famous architect who built the Escorial.– Coco.

Exterior of Augustinian church and convent, Manila

[*From plate in possession of Colegio de Agustinos Filipinos, Valladolid*

must be guided by the alms received; but the faithful assist according to their means – if they have little, with little; and, as [now] they have not anything, it is a matter of necessity that they cannot give us even that little. I can only acknowledge that as we were the first [to enter here], our houses ought to be, at the end of sixty-six years very strong in this regard. But the fact is that there is no community in Manila that does [not] excel us in this; and we remain only with the name [of being well-to-do], which does us no little harm. For, with the title of powerful ones, no one remembers us, except to beg from us and take away our lands; and, as they say in España: "What matters it to me if my father is called *hogaza* [*i.e.*, "large loaf of bread"], if I die of hunger?" But, finally, the little that covetousness influences us will be evident to all, even if I am not pleased at the abandoning of what belongs to us lawfully; as says our great father: *Et ideo quanto amplius rem communem, quam propriam curaveritis, tanto vos amplius proficere noveritis.*[53] Yet am I glad that in such manner are we so greedy of the rich patrimony of poverty, and such masters in it, that we cannot keep anything. For, after all, we are all sons of one father, of whom it is written that, although he was a bishop, he made no will at his death, for he had nothing. *Testamentum nullum fecit; quia unde faceret pauper Christi non habuit.*[54] I made the above remarks, for later an occasion so apropos may not arise.

[53] *In reg.*, chapter viii. This is in English: "And therefore, the more fully that you shall watch over a common possession than your own, so much the more fully shall you learn how to progress."

[54] St. Poss, in his life of St. Augustine [*Vita S. Augustini*], chapter xxix. Englished the above quotation is, "He made no will, for, as he was a pauper in Christ, he had nothing."

CHAPTER XVI

Of the assembly held by our religious in these islands, where they elected a provincial; and of other events.

[With the increase of their numbers, the missionaries felt the need of electing a provincial. Accordingly a general assembly was called, and in the early part of May, 1572, Martín de Rada was elected provincial – "a person of whom we have said so much and of whom we shall say much, and of whom there is plenty to say; for he was a subject worthy of all things, and his memory is as green today in the islands as if he were alive; and his achievements are extolled by Spaniards and Indians, who hold his sayings as prophecies. . . . In this assembly the priests had a vote, for as there were no fixed convents, and all were participating in the same labor, the responsibility of voting was divided among them all. The first thing that they discussed after the election was the despatching of a religious to Nueva España, and thence to España, to give account of the condition of the province, and of their ministry; and to request religious for the continuation of the work, and permission for our most reverend father to divide the province among them with full authority of proceeding in their elections and government, as in the other provinces which are not dependent." Diego de Herrera was chosen for this mission, and left Manila in the beginning of August, 1572. The new provincial set vigorously to work, "correcting, if there were aught to be corrected, anything in those first laborers that gave the lie to the perfection that they were professing (and in religious any puerility gives the lie to perfection, just as in a beautiful face any mark shows

out, however small it be). The religious are the face of the community, the most unblemished of it, and all men are looking at them. Consequently there must be nothing that gives the lie to it; for, however slight it be, it must be immediately seen." Convents, churches, and houses, " not costly, but with the moderation of that time," were erected. Medina continues:]

. . . A convent was established in the town of Taal. There is a lake there, generally known as the lake of Bongbong. Its water is salt, and so deep that the bottom cannot be reached in some parts. It is about forty leguas in circumference, counting in its gulfs and bays.[55] Shad are caught there, or rather tunny-fish, which, although not like those of España, still approximate to them. The lake empties through a river into the sea. When the Spaniards went there, this lake swarmed with people. It is twelve or thirteen leguas from Manila. Its chief town was this Taal, where the religious were established. Now it is the principal convent, and has a stone church, but very few people.[56] There lives the alcalde-mayor of La Laguna. And there are generally Spaniards there

[55] The *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* (p. 374) says that the lake of Bonbón or Taal is second in importance among the lakes of Luzón. Its circumference is seventy-five miles, being seventeen miles from north to south and twelve and one-half miles from east to west. It reaches a depth of one hundred and six fathoms very near shore. The crater of the volcano of Taal in its center supplies quantities of sulphur.

[56] The last parochial census (before 1893) gave Taal 32,908 inhabitants, and says that from it was formed the village of Lemery, which has 16,738 inhabitants.– Coco.

Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) gives the present civilized population of Taal as 17,525. The chief industries of the people are agriculture, herding, fishing, and the coast trade. Lemery has 11,150 civilized inhabitants.

who are making rigging for his Majesty. This lake has its islets, especially one opposite Taal, which had a volcano, which generally emitted flames.[57] That made that ministry unhealthful; for the wind or brisa blew the heat and flames into the village so that all that land became parched, and the natives had no lands to cultivate. . . .

[To remedy this Father Alburquerque built an altar at the foot of the volcano; a procession was made thither by all the village, and mass celebrated. So successful was this that " as yet no more fire or smoke has been seen, and that island, about four leguas in circuit, has fields and cows, and the inhabitants of Taal sow and reap their harvests in their land." Other convents were established at Tanauan, Lipa, Bauang, and Batangas, the first three with houses, the last with a house and stone church. " But they have few people,[58] so that the presence of the Spaniard must be a poison that finishes them. And this reduces them more than their wars and slaveries did in their heathenism. Of the volcano of Tlascala is recounted almost the same thing as of Taal."]

The father provincial settled religious in Laguna de Bay,[59] which is another lake not less remarkable than the one that we have just described. Its water is

[57] For a late discussion of the volcanoes of the Philippines, see Bulletin No. ٦ of *The Census of the Philippine Islands*, "Volcanoes and Seismic Centers," published by the Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1904).

[58] Today (1893) Tanauan has 21,363 inhabitants; Lipa, 40,031; Bauang, 39,275; and Batangas, 35,156.– Coco.

The Bulletin's figures give Tanauan 18,263 civilized inhabitants; Lipa, 37,934; Bauang, 39,094; and Batangas, 33,131.

[59] This lake has a coast-line of 108 miles, and its two greatest diameters are respectively 32 and 28 miles. Fifteen rivers empty into it. See *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands.*

fresh, and it is the largest lake known [in the islands], for it must be more than fifty leguas in circuit. It has its islets in the middle, some larger than others. It is exceedingly stormy, for, as the water has but little density, it is aroused and disturbed with but little wind, to the danger of those upon it. This convent is one of our largest. It was the largest settlement [on the lake]; now it has about one hundred tributes. All the Indian women make hose, and they are the best that are exported. There are generally two religious there, for that convent has its visita. The church is of stone, and is very large, as is the house likewise. About this lake are many convents of the religious fathers of St. Francis, which district we assigned to them – although we could have kept it, and assigned to them a district more remote. But in this is seen our indifference, for we shared with our guests the best, which are the districts nearer Manila. This lake has very famous baths of hot water, one legua from Bay, which are a remedy for many ills. An excellent hospital is established there, with a house adequate for the religious who administer it. These religious are Franciscans, and they administer this hospital, as they do others in the islands, with the charity and love which might be expected from so holy religious. And although brothers of St. John of God came to administer the hospitals, and remained in Manila many days, and even years, the Franciscan fathers were not willing to give up their infirmaries and hospitals, nor were the former able to deprive them of these. Therefore, they returned to Nueva España. And indeed, even if they who have the care of hospitals as a duty [*i.e.*, the brothers of St. John of God] had charge of these, I do not see how they could have

done it with greater charity, or more to the universal satisfaction [than have the Franciscans]. This lake empties by two arms of rivers: one goes to Pasig, our convent; and the other to Taguig, likewise our convent. Lower down the two rivers unite. Further increased by the San Mateo, which comes from the uplands, and has very clear water, they make a very beautiful river which empties into the sea, after flowing past the walls of Manila. It is called the Pasig River from the chief village. But in order to drink of the good water, one must ascend even to the very convent of Pasig, where the water is found clear. There are many things to see along this river. For both sides are lined with gardens and summer-houses, more lived in than even those of Manila, for there is enjoyed the coolness and freedom which the city does not possess. There are churches up the river, some with seculars, some with fathers of the Society, some of St. Francis, and some ours. For two leguas up the river [60] is our convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, which is built of stone. It is the most frequented house of devotion in the islands, both by Spaniards and by natives. And it is enough that it has not ceased to exist, because of the changeableness and fickleness of the country. We may talk more at length of this holy house.

Religious were established in the convent of Pasig, of which we have said somewhat already. It is about three leguas from Manila, and from Guadalupe one legua farther on. Now it has less than one thousand Indians in charge, and three religious; for it has a most fatiguing visita, namely, San Mateo, where or-

[60] The original reads: "*porque dos Iglesias,*" which we have regarded as a misprint for "*porque dos leguas.*"

dinarily is established one religious with voting power.[61]

The father provincial established religious in Calumpit, one day's journey from Manila toward the east (where the Tagál language is likewise spoken), bordering the province of Pampanga. It is located on a beautiful river called Quingua, of excellent water, which is used by all the convents of that district. It was a very densely populated district, but now it has but few people, for the Indians have not remained there.[62] It had formerly innumerable *mosquitas*,[63] but now few; and some sugar plantations, which were started by father Fray Pedro Mejía,[64] and continued by father Fray Luis Ronquillo.[65] If

[61] The original is "*de voto*." Perhaps Medina means that the religious at this visita had the right of voting at the election of the provincial.– Coco.

[62] Calumpit has now (1893) 15,024 inhabitants.– Coco. Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) gives the present civilized population of Calumpit as 13,897.

[63] A small bird, native to the island of Cerdeña, whose nest is utilized by the cuckoo. The context, however, suggests that the word may be a misprint for *mezquitas*, referring to the mezquit (*Algarobia*) of Nueva España – the writer meaning that along the Quiñgua valley were numerous thickets of some shrub resembling the mezquit. The river is now fringed with clumps of prickly bamboo. It is also possible that *mosquitas* is simply a misprint for *mosquitos* ("mosquitoes").

[64] Fray Pedro Mejía was born in La Mancha, and professed in the Augustinian convent at Valladolid. He became prior of Guadalupe in 1621, and later definitor and visitor. He was minister at Narvacan in 1611 and of the Tagál villages of Calumpit, Bauan, and Guiguinto until his death in 1659. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 94.

[65] Fray Luis Ronquillo, nephew of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo, was born in the city of Arevalo (Spain), in the province of Avila. He was lecturer in theology, master, and prior of the convent of Arenas. He went to the Philippines in 1624, where he became preacher in 1626, definitor-general in 1628, prior of

care were taken of them, the convent would be supplied with what is necessary. It is a priorate and has a vote. Its Indians number about five hundred.

The father provincial likewise established a convent in Lubao, which is [in] the province of Pampanga. It is a most fertile land, and we might say that it sustains the country, for it is all rice-fields. Hence it is said, that at harvest Pampanga is worth little. The convent of Lubao had many people, and hence they were able to build a church, which is one of the best in the country. It is all built of brick, made there; they also built a two-roomed house. It has generally two religious, with six hundred Indians.[66] All Pampanga is like streets, for the houses of one town are continued by those of another. One may go to all its towns without getting in the sun, for now the bamboos, and now the palms furnish very pleasant shade. From this place one goes to Guagua, a short legua, past the houses; thence to Betis; from Betis to Bacolor, the best of the entire province. Of the rest we shall speak in their turn.

The father provincial established religious in the island of Panay, which, as it was of the Bisayan language, he was not willing to abandon. Those islands, although the first to whom the clarion of the gospel was sounded, have been the ones that have remained

Manila and master of novitiates in 1638, prior of Tondo and Malate, and definitor of the province in 1632; and was at the missions of Calumpit (1629), Bay (1635), Bulacán (1641), and Pásig (1642). He died at Manila in 1644. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 102.

[66] The census prior to 1893 gave Lubao 20,568 inhabitants.–Coco.

Its present civilized population according to Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) is 19,063.

most in ignorance. I am unaware of the cause for this unless it be my sins, for truly the most flourishing province, in regard to its missions, has been that of Panay, as will be seen in this work. And yet, they are as new in matters of our faith, as on the first day. I think that their living in very remote towns conduces greatly to this, and in not seeing the religious so frequently as the others do. And although they have attempted to maintain some [religious] assemblies, they have not retained them, for the persons who most strenuously oppose their having assemblies are the encomenderos – because they fear the diminution of their Indians, more than what they owe as Christians. I console myself that another tribunal will judge them with more rigor. But may it please the omnipotent God that human selfishness be not repaid with eternal punishments; for they become encomenderos more to deprive the natives of the good of the soul, than to convert them and protect them in what concerns them so deeply.

The island of Panay is more than sixty leguas[67] south of Manila. The same star stands over the bar of its principal river, the Panay, as at Manila. Its other river, the Alaguer, is on the other coast. Both have about the same amount of water, but the Panay flows more slowly, and hence can be ascended more readily. It is also deeper, so that fragatas can enter over its bar at full tide, for it has about one and one-half brazas of depth. At low tide, not even the small vessels can enter. It is two leguas from the bar to the town. The convent is very large. With its visitas, it has in charge more than one thousand two hundred

[67] Doubtless a mistake of the author, for Manila is about three hundred and twenty miles from Iloílo.– Coco.

Indians. The alcalde-mayor of that jurisdiction lives there. As a rule, there are many Spaniards there; for at that port are collected the vessels for the relief expedition to Maluco. Thence goods are transported in champans to Ilong-ilong, where the port is located, and where the vessels are laden. There are more than one hundred Chinese married to native women in this town, and their number is increasing daily, so that I think they will end by peopling the country. I, being twice prior of this convent, learned somewhat of the Chinese language, in order to be able to minister to them; for to do so in Spanish, or in the language of the land, is the same as ministering to Spaniards in Greek. The river banks above are lined with palm groves, and with villages that are thinly inhabited because of the laziness of the alcaldes-mayor. The latter imagine that, when their offices are given to them, it is only that they may get money. They only take heed of that, and prove rather a drawback than an aid to the ministry. About two days' journey up the river, and on a branch flowing into the Panay, is the convent of Mambúsao,[68] a very flourishing house. Don Fray Pedro de Agurto, first bishop of Sugbú, and a member of our order, gave this to the order. He was one of the most learned and holy men of all the Indias. Afterwards he will be glorified, for he is the brightest jewel in this history, and has most honored the habit in these islands. He was a creole of Nueva España, and one of whom all those fathers can be proud. Ascending the river inland in Panay, and leaving on the right Mandruga and Mambúsao, one reaches the convent of Duma-

[68] Today (1893) administered by seculars, to whom the Augustinians ceded it.– Coco.

lág, after a few days' journey, more or less. It is a very important convent, for it ministers to more than one thousand Indians. There are two religious in each of these convents, prior and assistant. Before arriving at the convent of Dumalág, the convent of Dumárao, a very important house, has its river on the left. All of these convents have their churches and houses finished – although in wood, for it is not convenient to build them of other materials. Those crossing to the coast of Otóng, where the port and fort are located, pass through this district. They use a hammock [as their bed]; they walk inland a matter of two good leguas. Then they stop in a visita of Passi called Batobato. Thence they descend the river – or go by land, if the water is low – to the town of Passi, which is located in the middle of the island, with the most beautiful and suitable site imaginable. It enjoys balmy winds, excellent water, less dense woods, and less rain, so that one would believe it a different region. This convent has a stone church, and has charge of about two thousand tributes. The king grants it a stipend for three religious, and since this had to be, as it were, the Escorial, not only of the islands, but also of the country, it has been so unfortunate that scarcely has a work been finished than it immediately is burned. I cannot say in what this convent has suffered most, and that from the time when they left their old site and moved to their present location. This so constant work is the reason for this district not having more than two thousand Indians, and I wonder that it has them. The river of Alaguer [69] flows past the convent gates. By this one descends, leaving on the right and inland the priorate of

[69] Today Halaud.– Coco.

Laglág;[70] and still lower and also inland and on the same side, that of Baong;[71] and reaches the convent of Dumangas, which we call Alaguer. Thither went father Fray Juan de Alba – as the reader will remember – and from that house all the above were administered until they were made priorates. The bar of this river is about two leguas from the town. Now the convent is finished, but can sustain only one religious. The port and the fleet have destroyed it; for these are the best people of the Bisayas. The river, although like that of Panay, can not have much depth because of its rapid current, nor can the tide ascend for any distance; however, small boats enter it. These two rivers have one source. The Panay runs northward, and this of Alaguer toward the vendaval. If one wishes, he may cross hence, between this island and Himalos,[72] to Salog (Jaro), a convent of the order, which was also assigned to it by Bishop Agurto. It has in charge about one thousand Indians, but the number is much lessened by the conscriptions of the port, which is one-half legua from that town. From that place, following the coast, one goes to the convent of Otóng, the chief convent of this island, because it is near the village of Arévalo – once important, but now of no account. The alcalde-mayor and overseer-general of the Malucos lives there. Otóng lies about one and one-half leguas from the port. One may reach it either by the beach, or by a salt-water creek which flows through the village (and even to the very gates of our convent), and then makes

[70] Dueñas.– Coco.

[71] Dingle.– Coco.

[72] The island of Guimarás, today (1893) in charge of seculars.– Coco.

a turn, leaving the village an island. About two leguas along the coast lies the convent of Tigbauang, which belongs to our order. Today it is in charge of more than eight hundred Indians. The capital is very small, for it enjoys the conscriptions of Ilong-ilong. A matter of a short legua farther on is the convent of Guimbal. Of it, one may philosophize as in the case of Tigbauang. The latter has Hantic[73] as a visita, which was formerly one of the best priorates, but often destroyed by men from Camucón, Solog, and Mindanao, as it is quite outside the Spanish pale. It is more than twenty leguas from its capital, and is visited with great hardship and danger. Now since, without thinking, we have related all that is to be known of the island of Panay, let us return to Manila; for I think that something awaits us there.

CHAPTER XVII

Of how our religious tried to go to great China

During this time two Chinese junks or champans came to Manila to trade. These people, as they are so fond of silver, scented what was to enter their country through this medium. Hence they began the richest and most opulent trade known. Were the Spaniards less hasty, surely the trade would have resulted more cheaply, and the Chinese would not have done with them as they wished. In the beginning the articles traded were very cheap, and extravagant fortunes were made in Méjico. Now, however, it makes such inroads on the capital, that loss on the cost has often occurred in Méjico. But then, who can remedy this? These Indians or Chinese are generally called Sangleys, not because they call themselves Chi-

[73] The present province of Antique.– Coco.

nese or Sangleys, for they have been and are surprised at the two names. They are called Sangleys, because when they came to Manila, and the people saw men of so strange appearance, with hair like that of women – and of which they take most especial care, more even than of their faces and bodies – and done up on the head very nicely, and with a most peculiar headdress, their long garments, their ample and long drawers reaching to the feet, and all their other apparel in keeping, which seemingly belong to women rather than men, they asked the latter who they were. The answer was "Sangley" (or "merchant"); as one would say, "We are merchants." They were canonized with this name, and it has proved permanent, and hence they are now called by no other name. The name China must have been given by the Portuguese. Their own name is Songsúa.[74]

[A short description of China and its people follows. The fathers no sooner saw the Chinese traders, than they were filled with zeal for the conversion of the country. But they were unsuccessful in persuading the traders to embark them on their vessels. A letter written by Legazpi to one of the Chinese viceroys, and accompanied by a present, also failed of effect, for neither was delivered. Thus China remained a closed door for the time being.]

CHAPTER XVIII

Of the part played by our religious in the siege of Manila by Limahón, a great Sangley pirate, and of the latter's flight and destruction.

The month of August, 1572, was, beyond doubt, a sad one throughout the Filipinas Islands; for, in that

[74] The Chinese call their country Song-Song.– Coco.

month the Lord was pleased to take to Himself Adelantado Miguel López de Legaspi, by whose valor and prudence these islands had been won, and increased with the advantages that were seen. For in his eight years of governorship he did not begin anything that did not have a prosperous conclusion – well known to arise from his zeal and Christianity and his firmness and forbearance. Hence he was, with reason, loved by his own men, and feared and respected by foreigners. Thus, by merely the renown of his name in the islands, no one, however brave he might be, dared to exert himself as a leader. During his life, all promised themselves that that work commenced by him would attain the ends suitable to beginnings so distinguished. But at his death everything remained, as it were, in a torpid condition; for indeed it seemed to the enemy impossible that that man who had conquered them had died, or that so great valor had passed away so soon. But, truly, those who grieved and wept most were our religious, for they knew what they were losing in his loss, and how matters of religious instruction would be put backward, which by his valor were extending and widening the territories of the church. And their grief was greater because they were surrounded on all sides by enemies, and were in a city without walls, or other fort than that of the bodies and good courage of the soldiers. But soldiers are wont to lose their courage when they have no level head to guide them and face the danger. The adelantado was buried, in fine, in the convent of St. Augustine in Manila, his bones being deposited there, until his disposition of them was carried out. Father Fray Martín de Rada, who lived there then as provincial, conducted

his obsequies. He preached a long sermon on his many virtues, in which it is certain that one cannot say that love of his benefactor moved him, but zeal that vices should be eradicated.

After the next year, 73, his obsequies were preached in our convent in Méjico. There Master Fray Melchor de los Reyes preached with the vigor that might be expected from so erudite a man. He satisfied the audience and not less our duty and thankfulness. And certainly we in this convent ought to feel very thankful toward him [*i.e.*, Legazpi] and for the blessings and advantages acquired through him by the order of our father St. Augustine.

The treasurer, Guido de Lavezares, entered into the government by virtue of a royal decree in the islands (although a secret one), in which his Majesty ordered that in case of the death of the adelantado they should be governed by Mateo de Saus – who had gone to the islands with the title of master-of-camp; and in case of the death of this second, the treasurer should enter into the governorship, with the title of governor and captain-general. He did so, thus fulfilling his Majesty's decree; and he had so great Christianity and prudence, that one would believe that he had inherited the spirit and zeal of the dead governor.

[Here follows a very brief account of the descent on Manila by Limahon, who is forced to retire to Pangasinán – Medina says Cagayán. There the pirates published news that the Spaniards had all been killed. Medina continues:]

Those who hastened to believe this were the Indians of Mindoro, who are also something like the Moros. This island is more than twenty leguas from Manila on one side; on the other it is so near that

there are but two or three leguas to cross, namely, by way of Batangas. The island is very large, and very well covered with mountains; and it has beautiful rivers and a plentiful supply of fish, and above all, of wax. It has a corregidor, and is more than one hundred leguas in circuit. It has two benefices, in which live beneficed seculars. One is called Bacoy, and the other Nauhang. They have about six and seven hundred Indians respectively. Services are held in the Tagál speech. But there are here, further, some Indians whiter than the Tagáls, who live in troops in the mountains. They are the ancient inhabitants of the country, and it is they who gather the great abundance of wax which is yielded there. I said that there was a benefice of them, namely, of the people called Mangyan.[75] They are very good, and if they were instructed and taught, it would be easy to reduce them

[75] "*Manguianes.*– The heathen, unaffiliated natives inhabiting the interior of Mindoro, Romblon, and Tablas. Manguian (forest people) is a collective name of different languages and races. According to R. Jordana, the Manguianes of Mindoro are divided into four branches, one of which, Bukil or Buquel, is a bastard race of Negritos, while a second in external appearance reminds one of Chinese Mestizos, and on that account it is to be regarded as a Mongoloid type. The other two are pure Malay." (Blumentritt's "Native Tribes of the Philippines," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1899, p. 541.)

Colin says (*Labor evangélica*, lib. i, cap. iv, sec. 30) that the tribes dwelling at the headwaters of the rivers in the various islands are known by almost as many different names – among these, as Zambales, Manguianes, etc. "It is understood that they are mestizos of the other tribes, the savage and the civilized; and that for this reason they rank between those two classes of peoples in color, dress, and customs." He also describes their habits and mode of life (cap. vi, sec. 52), and says of them: "They are a simple, honest, temperate people," and adds that, up to the time of writing his book, they had not been christianized, "save some six hundred in the district and visitas of Nauhan, who received baptism during the few years in which the Society of Jesus had charge of them."

to settlements and missions. But no one attempts to do any work in the Lord's service. Especially do these Mangyanes fear the sea. They pay no tribute. They fear lest the Spaniards take them to man their ships. They go naked; and deliver the wax to the Tagáls, which the latter pay as tribute, and give as their share. More than three hundred quintals of wax yearly must be obtained in this island. This mission, then, was first in our charge, and at the time of the pirate Limahon's descent upon Manila, that island was a priorate. Its prior was father Fray Francisco de Ortega, and his companion was father Fray Diego Mójica.[76] As soon as those Moros heard, then, of the result at Manila, they threw off the yoke, attacked the fathers, seized them, and talked of killing

Murillo Velarde, S.J., states in his *Historia de Philipinas* (Manila, 1749), fol. 52, that "in 1631 the cura of Mindoro, who was a secular priest, ceded that ministry to the Society; . . . the superior lived at Nauhan in Mindoro, and Ours undertook to preach to and convert the Manguianes, heathen Indians of that island." On fol. 63, verso, and folio 64 he gives some account of these labors, and of the customs of these people, under the date 1633.

Sawyer (*Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p. 206) describes the Manguianes as "probably a hybrid Negrito-Visaya race." He mentions three varieties of these people, of whom "those residing near the western coast are much whiter, with lighter hair and full beards;" those of the southern part show evident signs of Chinese blood; and those in the center are darker and less intelligent. He praises the morality and honesty of the Manguianes, as also does Worcester (*Philippine Islands*, p. 413).

[76] Fray Diego Mójica was born of noble parents in a Castilian town, and took the Augustinian habit in Salamanca. After living for some years in Mexico, he went (1573) to the Philippines, where he was sent to Mindoro. He was the first prior of the Convent of Santa María de Gracia in 1575; twice definitor; minister of Tondo and Batangas; prior of Pásig in 1578; preacher and confessor to the Spaniards in 1580; president of the provincial chapter in 1581. He died in 1584. Extremely modest by nature, he never sought or wished preferment.

them. However, they forbore to kill the fathers immediately – I know not for what reason, since the Moros were setting out to execute that resolve.

[The governor, hearing of the imprisonment of the fathers, sent for them, but they had already been released. The Moros of Manila, instigated by Borneans, took occasion to revolt at this time, choosing as their two leaders Lacandola and Rajá Solimán. "Seeing this, father Fray Gerónimo Marín determined to go to the other side of the river and talk to those chiefs concerning the cause of their rising, so that, if there were complaints, as cannot fail to arise among soldiers, they might be remedied." Quiet was finally restored in this quarter, the greatest difficulty being found with Rajá Solimán, who "did not act fairly in whatever the Spaniards were concerned, nor did he regard them with friendly eyes." The governor proclaimed a religious procession in honor of the fortunate termination of the affair with Limahon. It was held January 2, 1575, at which time was founded a brotherhood of St. Andrew. In the year 1574 three more Augustinian religious had arrived, namely, Diego de Mójica, Alonso Gutiérrez,[77] and Juan Gallegos.[78] Also in 1575 came three others, Francisco

[77] Fray Alonso Gutiérrez professed in the province of Castilla, and was a conventual in Cebú in 1573. He ministered to Halaud and Otón successively in 1576 and 1577; was preacher and confessor in 1581; minister at Parañaque in 1584, at Tabucao in 1584, at Pásig in 1586, and at Tondo in 1587. In the last-named year he was definitor and lecturer, and in 1590 president of the chapter, dying at Manila in 1605. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 15.

[78] Fray Juan Gallegos took his vows at the convent at Mexico about 1566. Upon his arrival at the islands, he became a conventual at Lubao. He was first minister to Bay in 1578, and to Tabucao in 1581. He died while definitor, at the end of 1581. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Manrique,[79] Sebastián de Molina,[80] and Alonso Heredero.[81]]

CHAPTER XIX

Of other events, and when the other religious entered into the islands

[In these early years a disaster befalls the Augustinians, and somewhat dashes their hopes. This is the death of Diego de Herrera with ten priests who are coming, six from Spain and four from Mexico, to augment the missionary efforts. Of the thirty-six priests obtained by Herrera on his mission to Spain, but six set sail for the Philippines. The four from Mexico who join them are: Francisco Martínez, of the chair of writing in the University of Mexico, an excellent Greek and Latin student, who had been prior of the Augustinian convent in Lima; Lésmes de Santiago, an ascetic, and formerly a successful merchant; Francisco Bello; and Francisco de Arévalo. The shipwreck is

[79] Fray Francisco Manrique professed at Valladolid, and on his arrival at the islands relieved Father Rada (September 11, 1575) of the ministry at Otón. He was afterward definitor and missionary at Lubao (1576); rector provincial in 1577; first minister to Candaba in 1579; prior of Manila, 1575, 1578, 1581, and 1584; definitor, 1581; vicar-provincial, 1582; and first prior of Macao, 1587. His death must have occurred in 1588, as his name does not appear after that in the provincial records. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[80] Fray Sebastián Molina, after his arrival at the islands, became first minister to Macabebe in 1575. He died in September of the following year. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[81] Fray Alonso Heredero was an austere religious, and was three times minister at Macabebe (1576, 1578, and 1581). He was definitor and minister at Calumpit in 1584, and again definitor and minister at Méjico in 1590. He died in the latter town in 1591. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

quite near Manila and is due " to the carelessness of the pilot – and I think that this is the first ship that has suffered shipwreck on coming from Méjico." The loss of Herrera is felt keenly, for he was an enthusiastic and zealous worker. " The loss of this ship was felt keenly in the islands, for it bore heavy reenforcements of troops, money, and other things needed in the new land, which lacked everything. But above all they were anxious because they were surrounded on all sides by enemies, and had but few troops, and these were scattered in many districts. But those who grieved most were Ours. . . ." Medina continues:]

The religious discussed the matter, and seeing the great abundance of the harvest, and that they were unable to attend to everything, they thought that it was not right to enjoy this field alone, but that the other orders should come to aid them. For they recognized that there was work for all, and that, if the door of China and Japón was opened, those from España would seem but few to them. Besides, there was enough in the islands wherewith to occupy themselves. Therefore, they wrote to the father-provincial of Nueva España – at that time Maestro Veracruz, a man of the letters and holy life that is known – asking him to take the matter up with the viceroy.[82] He favored this plan, chiefly because in it was evidenced the great liberality of Ours, in not keeping the bread, which the Lord had given them, but dividing it with love with their other companions; and this fraternal

[82] The viceroy of Nueva España at this time was Martin Enriquez de Almansa; he arrived in the City of Mexico November 5, 1568, and held his office until October, 1580, when he was succeeded by the Condé de la Coruña.

spirit of the orders is a good thing. This example was given us by the holy apostles, who, after casting that net in which they caught so many fish that they could not pull it in because of so great weight, immediately *annuerunt sociis*. They called and signaled to their companions to come to their aid, in order that they might enjoy their good fortune and drag the net to shore and obtain the fish. The viceroy of Nueva España discussed the matter, in the interests of all the orders – for the viceroy was father of them. He wrote to his Majesty, so that the discalced fathers of the order of our father St. Francis, with whom our religious shared the cape, went to the islands in the year 1577. And Ours even gave them of the best, which they themselves had pacified, namely, Camarines, Laguna de Bay, and many convents about Manila. There they began to preach, to establish convents, and to administer, with the greatest fervor. They have increased so much that now they have many convents, that contain excellent linguists, and grand servants of the Lord, and have notable martyrs – of which, God willing, we shall see somewhat later.

Later, in the year 1580, the fathers of the Society of Jesus came to the islands. Therein they have made much gain, as it is well known that they have done wherever they dwell, by teaching human as well as divine letters to the youth, and at the same time giving them the mild food of virtue – which enters very well along with the teaching of letters, of which a long and settled experience has been had. They have the university in Manila, very notable in its members, which has filled the islands with learned men. It is in no respect defective, but is excellent in everything. And although all do not join the church, knowledge

does not at all tarnish a captain's reputation; rather, it is enamel upon gold. For he who has the most alert understanding enters and goes out better on occasions, and gives in public the better reason for what is proposed. Besides, those born in the islands grow up with but little knowledge of the Castilian language, both on account of the habits of the country, and because they are always arm in arm with the blacks, who talk a jargon of tongues – which is neither their own, for they have lost that, nor that of the natives, nor of the Spaniards, but a smattering of each one; those coming from España do not understand them. Therefore, it is needful that the youth should have some means of losing that corrupt speech, and of relearning that of their parents, so that they may afterward be able to shine in public without shame.

The fathers of the Society have many places of ministry, and daily are extending their labors. They have a little about Manila, but more in the Bisayas; for they have charge of the island of Samar, that of Leyte, that of Ibabao, and that of Bohol.[83] Now they have a convent in the very island of Mindanao, where they have performed great deeds among the Subanes. They have missions in many other districts, the Indians of which are very tractable and well instructed, as I shall be able to relate here; for they are excellent in everything. And as the fathers are usually influential in secular affairs, they obtain what they see to be important for their good management, all of which is needed to induce these stiff-necked people to accept salvation.

They have remarkable Bisayan linguists. And al-

[83] The Franciscans were in charge of these islands in 1893.–Coco.

though they printed Belarmino[84] in that tongue, I think it was at more cost than gain; for to imagine that the Indian will buy a book is a ridiculous notion. And even if he had it, he would be too lazy to read it. This is the reason why so little has been printed in all the languages of these regions. Perhaps with the lapse of time they will lose the ancient vices, and become fonder of the truth.

In the next year, 1581, several religious of his order went to the islands with Bishop Fray Domingo de Salazar, of the order of our father St. Dominic, and first bishop of these islands. They established themselves in Manila with so great observance and vigor, that, in the opinion of all, this province is the most holy and austere known, and is considered as such. Those who come from España do not recognize it – not because there is a lack of observance there, but because the habit here is most severe; and since the country is so unsuitable for austerity, necessarily that is a cause for keen regret, and those who wear the habit are wont to wear a hair-shirt perpetually. These most religious fathers have charge of the Sangleys, for whom they have had finished linguists, and they do not lack such now. They have built so fine a wooden church in the Parián of Manila – that is, the alcaicería, where the Sangleys have their shops – that it might be sightly even in España, and in it the Sangleys have generously assisted.[85] For they had a common fund for current expenses, and they amass in it yearly about twenty thousand pesos.

[84] The "Christian Doctrine" of Cardinal Bellarmino; see VOL. XVII, p. 70, and note.

[85] Only the name of Parián remains today; and of the church not even the ruins.– Coco.

Each Sangley, pagan or Christian, pays, if he wear a cue, three reals of four to the peso, in two payments. For this fund there are Spanish collectors with a sufficient salary. What I regret is that, in all these cunning devices to obtain their money, and the exaction of these contributions, the money is taken from the Spaniards, as the Sangleys are their creditors. And the Sangley himself says when they collect it, "I do not pay this, but the Castilian." For since we get our food, clothing and shoes through them, and it is necessary that everything come from the hand of the Sangleys, therefore they avenge themselves very well, by putting up prices on everything, and shortening measures, so that the loss is greater than is realized. Watchful Spaniards do not fail to take note of this, and they grieve over it; but they endure it, for the communal fund, or the tribute, or the other things are not demanded of them – as if in what they buy, or order to be made, they did not pay double. When I came to the islands in the year 1610, when not so much was exacted from the Sangleys, there was a large bale of paper of eighty large sheets, from each one of which six small sheets were made, so that there were four hundred and eighty sheets. This could be bought for three or four reals. But after the contributions were levied on them, I saw and bought these large bales of paper, of but fifty large sheets, and from each one could be cut no more than four small sheets; and they cost three pesos. They could not have so high a price in España. I bought a small piece of linen of fourteen or fifteen varas for four reals. Now they measure by varas, and it is very cheap at one real per vara. And thus in everything else, this appears now, whether the Sangley, the Span-

iard or the Chinese pays the trickery. But it is a singular thing, how poorly the Spaniard governs himself. Wherever he halts, immediately all prices go up; and even when he is able to get food gratis, he clothes himself and obtains his food at excessive rates, because of his lack of consideration or his heedlessness. And when he happens to bethink himself, it is too late.

The Dominican fathers have another station of married Sangleys, near Manila, and adjoining Tondo, so close that their houses and those of Tondo are contiguous. This station belonged to us, but we generously gave it to them, so that they might agree to make a compact in regard to the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi.[86] We ourselves celebrated it on the Sunday that came after the principal feast, when the cathedral celebrates it, with great solemnity. The fathers of our father St. Dominic came and entered their suit. Journeys were made to and from Roma at great expense. At the end, it was decided that the festival should be celebrated *ad invicem* [*i.e.*, "in turn"], one year in one place and the next year in the other, in the following manner. When it should be celebrated in Santo Domingo, we were to perform the services at the altar; and when it was celebrated at our house, in the same way they should perform the service. Let them consider that it was important whether to celebrate the feast

[86] San Agustin (*Conquistas*, p. 381) says that the Augustinian mission to the Chinese was established in the Tondo convent in 1581, and placed under the special charge of Fray Diego Muñoz. Later a suit arose between the Augustinians and Dominicans (*Conquistas*, p. 533) as to the administration of the Chinese at Baybay. It was settled in 1612, on condition of the two orders celebrating alternately Corpus Christi day.

immediately on the following Monday. Some things on which we lay particular stress have no importance whatever; and, regarding some that we ought to lay stress on, we allow them to stand without any care whatever. This is well known and a trite saying in our holy order. But it is a matter of greater importance to that convent than to ours that the feast should be celebrated today rather than tomorrow. The Dominican fathers have built in the convent a very strong stone church, which would be considered substantial in España. One has only to cross the bridge over the river to go from this church to their church in the Parián. A short distance farther, and also near there, they possess the hospital for sick Sangleys. But I maintain that but few are treated there, for these nations would rather be left to die in their own houses, with their relatives, than to regain their health in the hospital. Besides the Sangleys have very excellent physicians among themselves, even better than those from España – I mean those in Manila, who serve rather to take money and to bury people than for any other purpose, and gain their experience at the very dear cost of the Spaniards.

Furthermore, the Dominican fathers have the province of Pangasinán, which belonged to us. But recently we gave them the town of Lingayén, the best one of that province. Likewise they have the province of Cagayán, the most distant part of the island, which contains the city of Nueva Segovia (which consists of the name merely). There is an alcalde-mayor and a commander, who is also captain of the troops in the presidio established there. These inhabitants of Cagayán are warlike. Daily they rise and burn convents and churches and kill some of the

religious. The Dominicans have many convents for here is their stronghold. And indeed up the river (as they say), which is the best and largest of the island – and where those who understand it thoroughly say that the city of Manila ought to be – are remarkable lands and nations as yet unconquered. The fathers have worked here, and are working, with great zest, and suffer innumerable inconveniences for the good of those souls. Hope of greater fruits is very bright. In order to reach this province, those going by land cross our province of Ilocos, which lies between Cagayán and Pangasinán, of which we must make mention later. This illustrious order has had in Manila men prominent in letters and religion. They are a mirror in life and morals, and revered in life as heavenly men. And in Japon, although they were the last in the Lord's vineyard, they have not been last in gains and labors, for they have had very saintly martyrs. They have a college in Manila also, where they teach Latin, the arts, and theology, and that college is likewise a university. Thus behold Manila, founded but yesterday, with two universities; and I am not surprised that, notwithstanding that it is the colony of the Spaniards, and the desire of so many nations, the more it has of that the more it needs. For from here must emanate the light that will lighten all this archipelago. When these peoples are converted, they will lack ministers, so great is the latitude discovered in this hemisphere. May our Lord be pleased to aid them and to aid us, so that our labors may bear light, his Majesty be reverenced worthily, and the devil be banished from the hearts of these people.

In the above colleges, a number of students receive

instruction, and are sustained free of charge. The portion of the others who enter, amounting, I believe, to one hundred pesos, is paid. Their results are excellent. The liberality of those who have come to Manila is discernible in everything; for in works of charity they have given and are giving very much, although those with wealth are very few. And really the magnificence of all the churches and temples astonishes me. All are finished and wonderfully adorned with jewels and silver ornaments, without there being any building for which there is not more than enough; and silver ornaments for the front of the altar are seen in many churches of Manila. Indeed when those who have done this are considered attentively they have made the expense once for all; for by means of the silver, hangings which soon are destroyed and damaged by the dampness in these islands, are done away with. But the silver, when somewhat tarnished, regains its former luster, and even more, by cleaning it. The work of the Society may be extolled in all España. All this appears good, so that when the foreigners return to their countries, after having finished their trading and sold their merchandise, they should take with them the news of our temples; and that through the grandeur and majesty of the temples, they may recognize the grandeur and majesty of Him who is thus worshiped in this country. And this is one thing at which the nations are most astonished, and especially the Japanese. They look at the temples with great curiosity. This nation has also been tested in Christianity. For up to today they have given to the church an innumerable number of martyrs, both men and women, all notable. This I have heard declared by the archdean Alonso

Garcia, in the reports made in Manila by order of his Holiness in the year 1631. In them were described more than nine hundred martyrs, all notable, besides the rest, of whom no knowledge could be had. Nearly all the orders have Japanese priests, and they are excellent subjects; our order has three. Two, Fray Miguel and Fray León, are holy men. The third has not resulted so, although he is rather an interpreter and one well grounded in everything. But until life is ended we may not praise or condemn one. *Ante mortem non laudes hominem quemquam; lauda post mortem, honorifica post consumationem.*[87]

CHAPTERS XX-XXII

[These chapters deal almost entirely with Chinese affairs, and the part played by the Augustinians in the first Spanish embassy sent to China; their return; and the ill-success of the second embassy to that country.]

[At length the attempts of the Augustinians to go to China bear fruit, and on June 21, 1575, Martin de Rada and Jerónimo Marín set sail for the great empire. The opportunity comes through the defeat and siege of the pirate Limahon. The Chinese captain Dumón braves the laws forbidding the entrance of foreigners into China, and conveys the missionaries to that country – whither they go rather in the light of emissaries of the government than as religious workers; for the governor, Guido de Lavezares, gave them three letters, one for the Chinese emperor, another for the viceroy of the province of Fo-Kien, and the third for the governor of Chin-Cheu. They are well received and borne through a portion of the land

[87] Ecclesiastes xi, 30.– Coco.

in state. They receive audience, and later a banquet, from the governor of the city of Chin-Cheu, to whom they deliver the letter from the Spanish governor.][88]

[At Oc-Kin, the viceroy grants the fathers cordial and dignified audience. At the request of the former the fathers present him with a paper in which they state their object and desire, namely, the preaching of the gospel. The viceroy requests a book of the Christian law, whereupon he is presented with a breviary, as the fathers have no other book with them. After hearing an exposition of the Christian doctrine, the viceroy dismisses the Augustinians, loading them with rich presents. Three captains are ordered to see them safely to Manila. To the letter of the Spanish governor, the viceroy replied as follows:]

Letter from the kingdom of Tangbin in the province of Oc-Kin, from the royal house

I received a letter, to which this is the reply, from the governor in the fort of Manila. To thee, who art born of heaven. Although we differ among ourselves, we are children of one father and of one mother. Therefore we love and regard you as friends and brothers. And likewise have we friendship with the Lóquios, a foreign people, who come as friends to this province of Oc-Kin every three years. They, in token of friendship, bring us some products of their country, which this country does not produce. Here we present to them other things unknown to their own country. Therefore shalt thou know that we protect and esteem greatly the foreigners who come hither.

[88] See Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Historia de la gran China* (1586), for a relation of this journey. Part of it may be found in VOL. VI of this series, pp. 114-125.

We have ordered the fathers and Castilians to be supplied with all necessaries, so that they might lack nothing. For if they should lack anything, we would be grieved and ashamed. And besides this, we have offered and given them some things, all of which is placed in a memorandum. The ten vessels that are going to your shores are furnished with all necessaries, so that you shall not have any trouble in giving them what they shall peradventure ask of you. The captains and sailors, and the rest of the crew, are paid for ten months.

We have written to the king the extent of our information, so that he may know what is passing. We would like the fathers to remain here, and more, until we shall hear and see the king's reply. But as the voyages are long, namely, three months to go and three to return, we thought that you would grieve over their absence. Therefore, we return them to you and send with them a small present. All the present is in charge and keeping of my captain. If any of it be lacking, he will be punished. Given in the year of the king the lion Huicbanlic [*i.e.*, Wanleh].

[After a stay of thirty-five days in Oc-Kin, the fathers, still accompanied by the two soldiers, Loarca and Sarmiento, set out on their return, being banqueted and feasted at all the cities on their way. They set sail for Manila September 14, and arrived there, " part of them October 28, and the others November 1. When they arrived they found a new governor, for Doctor Francisco de Sande had reached the islands in the month of August of the year 1575, with his Majesty's appointment as governor of those islands." The present to the governor is delivered to

Lavezares. "Among the rich things brought, the greatest was that brought by father Fray Martín de Rada, and a thing of great importance and value in those times – namely, a description of the great kingdom of China, its provinces, its boundaries, its religion, its wealth, its civilization, its amusements, and everything that human curiosity is desirous of knowing, of which until then there was no account. This was the account caused to be printed by father Fray Jerónimo Román, of our order, in the second edition of his *Repúblicas del mundo*, which was published by Bishop Fray Pedro de Mendoza,[89] in his book on that kingdom."]

[On the return trip of the Chinese captains, a second embassy of priests, Agustiń de Alburquerque and Martín de Rada, accompany them. But the captains are dissatisfied with the presents received; and this, together with the news of the escape of Limahon, determines them to abandon the fathers. Accordingly the latter are left destitute in the country of the hostile Zambales, but fortunately make their way back to Manila, where they are welcomed with rejoicing. Somewhat later (1580) an embassy of three priests is appointed by the king of Spain, consisting of the Augustinians Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza – then bishop of Popayán, Perú, and later bishop of Lípari, in the kingdom of Naples – Francisco de Ortega, and Jerónimo Marín, to go to China. The avowed object of the embassy is to open the door to commerce, and carry the faith to China. The first remains in Spain. The advice of Marín is followed and the embassy is not sent.]

[89] This is evidently the *Historia de la gran China* by Gonzalez de Mendoza.

CHAPTER XXIII

Of the election, in the islands, of father Fray Agustín de Alburquerque

It appears that now the provinces of Filipinas were gathering greater strength, for, while they were being colonized, the increasing trade and the relations with Méjico were excellent; the religious were increasing, in the temporal and spiritual, throughout the province, which was obtaining many and good laborers; and convents were being built. That of Manila and that of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, in particular, were laying their foundations, in order to erect stone buildings; for, however strong wooden supports may be, yet with the lapse of time they finally decay and become useless. This does not happen so quickly with what is made of stone, which lasts much longer and opposes the inclemencies of the weather.

At first we used to make our houses in the manner of the inhabitants of the country themselves; for, in short, they know more of their climate, as they have more experience therein, and God gave them more adequate knowledge of the products of the islands, so that they might make use of them. The islands are by nature very damp. If one digs down two palmos he finds water. Therefore, humanly speaking, it is impossible to make cellars as in España, or to live upon the ground, because it would play havoc with one. For this mother nature provided these Indians with certain woods, so large and hard that, after planting them in the earth, the Indians build their houses upon them, at a height of one and one-half, two, or three brazas. These timbers or columns are

called *harigues*, and the wood is that called *tugás*.[90] These timbers having been placed, as I say, upright in the earth, and having the space of more than a braza beneath them, form the columns of the edifice, and upon them the natives build. We have all made use of this method of building in these islands. We have built fine houses and churches from these woods – for which, inasmuch as many villages assist in the building, the largest columns and those of known goodness are sought, which last many years. In conformity with this, while I was building a house in the town of Dumangas, on the Alaguer River, a very large house was there, belonging to an encomendero living there, one Ruy López de Arellano, a native of Constantina. This man died, and the house being already half fallen, I was having it taken down, in order to make some use of it, before time should finish its destruction, and the river bear it away, which was very rapidly being done. I took down from it one column, in particular, which the Indians assured me had been brought there more than thirty years before by the Indians up the river. I affirm that at the ground line it was eaten in about a finger's length around. All the rest was in perfect condition. And I observed that the part that had been under ground was in much better condition. There are other columns left as inheritances from father to children, and to grandchildren, upon which many houses have been built. The walls, which are called *dingding*, are made of excellent timber. The walls of the Indians' houses are made of bamboo, inasmuch as they are poorer. The roof is made of palm-leaf,

[90] In Tagál, *molave*.– Coco.

called *nipa*. Instead of nails, the natives use certain strong ligaments, made from flexible roots, called *bejuco* [*i.e.*, rattan], where we use nails. These houses, then, are considered more healthy; for as it is usually very hot in the islands, these houses are much more cool, and the winds blow through them with greater ease. When Manila had wooden houses, it was more healthy. But now they have taken to making stone edifices, and those not of stone are rare. Stone is also being used to build outside of Manila, and already there are many houses and churches of that material. If one considers this closely, even though economy be not considered, necessity was bound to impose this. For there could be no woods to furnish so many columns, and the dragging of them thither would be very costly. Hence, by collecting money, which is easier for the natives, they summon Chinese, who do what work is desired; and, if it is wished, they paint the building. Therefore, because of the aforesaid reasons, our convent at Manila was begun in stone. It is now, as I have remarked, the best in the islands; and daily it is being made more notable by further work.

The fathers held a chapter meeting in 1578, and peaceably and quietly cast their votes for father Fray Agustín de Alburquerque, a man of whom we have already said sufficient of his occupations, virtue, zeal, and prudence. As soon as he beheld himself invested with the ermine, he gave his attention to everything possible, looking after both the spiritual good of the province – the principal thing – and the temporal, extending and spreading the province. He established religious in Bulacán, and that place is now one of the principal and more desirable convents. It has an

excellent stone house and church, and about six hundred tributes.[91] It is about six leguas north of Manila. It has usually two religious. The Tagál language is spoken there. The alcalde-mayor of that jurisdiction, which has about four thousand Indians, lives in Bulacán. All the Manila religious extol the Indians of this town as the most tractable and most attached to the church.

He established religious in Candava also. This is the last convent in Pampanga, and formerly was most flourishing, although now it is very dilapidated. Near it is a beautiful and copious river,[92] which divides into many branches as it approaches the sea, and all these branches empty into Manila Bay. Hence one may go to all these convents both by sea and by the estuaries, without sail. Therefore, one can go and come without depending on the weather. It has now about six hundred Indians.[93] It is one and one-half day's journey from Manila. Two religious live there. It has a very fine wooden house, and the church is built of the same material.

Religious were firmly established in Macabebe. This is, in my opinion, the finest priorate of all Pampanga, and the chief one. It lies on a branch of the Candava River, as above stated; and in the middle of the road has a very good wooden house and church. Three religious lived there generally, for it had more than one thousand three hundred Indians. A visita

[91] Bulacán in the census preceding 1893 had a population of 13,659.– Coco.

Bulletin No. 1 gives Bulacán 11,589 civilized inhabitants.

[92] The Rio Grande of Pampanga.

[93] In 1893, the inhabitants numbered 15,156, with a convent and church of solid masonry.– Coco.

Bulletin No. 1 makes the present civilized population 11,783.

called Minalampara was taken away from it, which is a vicariate. With that the said town of Macabebe was left with about one thousand Indians.[94] Two religious live there generally.

All this Pampanga country is swampy. For such is the condition of the rivers, that the people have their conduits, and, when they need water let it in. This is the reason for the vast quantity of rice there. This province has abundance of cocoa-palms, and many bananas. The soil is very favorable for any trees that one might choose to plant there. When the religious arrived there, that province had many inhabitants. Now, although it lacks that great number of former years, yet it is not depopulated.[95] The people there have accepted Christianity more readily than all others of the islands. They have more to do with the Spaniards than the others, and try to imitate them as far as possible. But the more they try to do that, the more do they show their texture as Indians. Very many people have been conscripted from this district, and I wonder that a man is left. For the governors send soldiers from here to Maluco, Sugbú, Octóng, and Caragán, where a fort has been built and is guarded by the men of Pampanga. And although they do more work than the Spanish soldiers, they

[94] In 1893 Macabebe had 19,801 inhabitants, and a stone church and convent.– Coco.

The civilized population now (see Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*) is 14,405.

[95] The population of the province of Pampanga is reported for five different years as follows: 1818, 106,381; 1840, 152,232; 1850, 156,272; 1870, 203,137 (these four including Tárlac); 1887, 223,902. The estimate of the *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, from which these numbers are taken, figures a population of 223,922 for 1901. Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) reports 223,754 for 1903, of whom 222,656 are civilized, and 1,098 wild.

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receive no pay, their food is scarce, and they are ill treated. And yet it can be said of these Indians (and a strange thing it is), that although they are treated so harshly, it is not known that a single one has deserted to the Dutch in Maluco, where they suffer more than in their own country. Many of the other Indians go and come. When these soldiers leave Pampanga, they present a fine appearance, for the villages come to their aid, each with a certain sum, for their uniforms. All this is due to the teaching of the religious of our father St. Augustine, whose flock these Indians are, and the children of their teaching.

Besides the above religious, the provincial established others in a settlement in the village of Bacolor, which is the best village not only of Pampanga, but of all the islands; for it has more than one thousand Indians under the bell [*i.e.*, "who are Christians"]. It is about one and one-half days' journey from Manila by sea and creeks, as in the case of the others. It has the best meadow-land in the islands, and it all produces rice abundantly. It is irrigated, as was remarked above of the others. It has a celebrated church with its crucifix, which is entirely built of stone and brick. The house is made of stone also. The inhabitants are the richest and best-clothed of all Pampanga, and have the most prominent of the chiefs. When the supply of religious is good, there are always three in this village, and there have even been at times four or five; for besides the stipend paid by his Majesty (who owns this encomienda), it has its own chaplaincies, founded by the said inhabitants of Pampanga. It also has its own altar fund, which, although not very important as yet, will yield something for the support of those in charge there. All the

territory of Pampanga is surrounded by mountains where dwell Zambales and Negrillos, who descend to the villages for the purpose of head-hunting; for there is nothing so much to their taste as this. A people without abiding-place or house cannot be punished. They rest at night where they choose; and sustain themselves on roots and what game they bring down with their bows. The children, as they are raised with this milk, and as they are given suck of human blood, die by pouring out their own blood.

Many misfortunes occur yearly, and we have only the pain of not being able to remedy them. And although the Indians know this, they do not, on that account, watch more carefully or have greater vigilance over themselves. On the contrary they proceed with so great abandon that one marvels. If they are censured, they answer: "What can we do, since there is nothing besides the will of God?" The same thing happens in regard to the crocodiles. Although the people see that the crocodiles seize them daily, they proceed with the same abandon; notwithstanding that, with but little toil, they could remedy this, by catching them or by making some enclosed bathing places in the rivers. But they neglect to do this, either through laziness, or in order not to toil for another's gain. For they say: "What is given me by another, or by the village?" Under no circumstance do they unite in doing anything for the common good, unless the alcalde-mayor or the father orders it. Finally, it is necessary that the father govern and rule [even] those most enlightened and civilized. Hereabout it is said that the village is such as is the prior. If the prior makes them assist, they do so. If he leaves them they are overcome by their laziness. They for-

get what has been taught them, with the ease to which they accommodate themselves. They learn with ease everything evil, without a master; but for the good, one master is not sufficient for each Indian. For they are greatly given to following their inclination, which causes great grief to the ministers.[96] But not all men can be saints; and, since the Lord gave them no greater talent, He desires them to be saved with what they have. *Homines, et jumenta salvabis, Domine.*[96*] All of these convents are located within the archbishopric of Manila.

The father provincial went further, and established religious in the island of Panay. The reader may remember the description that we gave of it, and which he will find in the next to the last place to the convent of Tigbauan; for there the provincial established resident religious. This convent has been in many different hands; for at first, as appears, we had it in charge, and then the seculars had it. The fathers of the Society followed the latter, after which a Portuguese secular had charge of it for a consider-

[96] The attitude of the great Augustinian Philippine writer, San Agustín, and in general the friars of the last century of the Spanish régime, toward the native is well shown in the following note by the Spanish editor, Father Coco: "The Indians have not changed in this regard. Since they have not lost their disposition they preserve with it their vices. If the father does not interest himself in the regulation of bridges, roads, the maintenance of the children at school, etc., nothing useful is done. In this interest and zeal, the father must not relax one instant, for the very moment in which the vigilance of the father rests, little by little all the good that he has done in the village disappears. The greater number of the Ilocan plains are crossed by irrigation canals, brought to completion by the initiative of the fathers, and preserved until now by the watchfulness of the same persons. All this, as is natural, brings endless troubles and not small sorrow to the parish priest."

[96*] Psalms xxxv, 7.– Coco.

able time. He, in order to relieve his burden, exchanged it for another district of the order called Ibahay, which was the first priorate given me in these islands by the order, and in my opinion better than Tigbauan. The only thing which made it troublesome were five islands which had visitas that belonged to it, where it had all that was needed. The order has held it for some time, and it is not so good as others. It is a royal encomienda. The village of Arévalo is situated near by. Therefore, whenever the religious are sick, there is never lack there in the presidio of a surgeon, who, without being able to distinguish his right hand, bleeds and purges, so that in a brief time the sick man is laid in his grave; and a religious or a Spaniard is worth a great deal in this country. Daily our number is lessening, for the country furnishes but little help. It cannot be compared to Nueva España, which has enough inhabitants for itself, and to spare. Nothing increases here, or succeeds. The creoles do not reach their majority, and death comes upon them unseasonably.[97]

CHAPTER XXIV

Of the chapter held in the islands, in which was elected the fourth provincial, our father Fray Andrés de Aguirre.

When the time came, as ordained by our rules, namely, April 22, 1581, the fathers – who were now in greater number, and as as we have related, had a

[97] The author might have added something more, namely, that from the little that is enjoyed from the Spanish race, it is becoming so degenerate in the course of time that it is losing completely even the characteristic traces of its origin. It is giving the "leap backward," as we say here in common parlance.– Coco.

greater number of missionaries and convents – assembled. Peacefully and harmoniously they cast their votes for father Fray Andrés de Aguirre – of whom one may not say little, and, if we say much, it will grow wearisome, and we shall never fill the measure of his deserts. Let the religious who reads this remember the mention which we have given this servant of God, and he will find that father to have taken part in the most important things recounted in this history; for he will see how he was one of the six who first came to this country in the adelantado's following, November 23, 1564. He will find this father the associate of Father Urdaneta, when the latter discovered the return passage to Nueva España. He will see him at the court, together with the aforesaid [Urdaneta], informing King Felipe II about events in Filipinas, and of the fortunes of that fleet, which we have related. Although he returned to Méjico with the same Father Urdaneta, and stayed there many years, yet, thinking that he was ill employing the health which our Lord gave him, and that his person would be more useful in the country which he had discovered for the honor of God, and thus renewed in courage and spirit, he determined to return to Filipinas. For that purpose he petitioned the father provincial of Méjico to aid him on that journey with some religious, who were the jewels of greatest value that he could take. His request was conceded, and those religious were such that truly this province of Filipinas owes what luster it possesses to them. For as they were all excellent persons for the ministry, and came from a place, namely, Méjico, where so great care and solicitude was the rule, they tried to reduce this province to the fashion of that one, by

settling the Indians, gathering them together, and making them observe civilized laws. And I am very certain that that is the difficulty of christianizing these islands. If the desired gain in the harvests is not seen today, it is because there has been no firmness in that plan; but the natives are allowed to live in their small settlements whither the religious goes but seldom, and the Indians cannot see what is preached to them put into practice. I have said somewhat on this subject previously, and whenever opportunity occurs, I shall again discuss it, as it is very close to my heart. Besides, it was, and is, better for the Castilians themselves to have the Indians living in communities; for in matters requiring despatch, they have the latter close at hand, and keep them more tamed, and richer in what concerns their advantage. "But," I ask, "what difference is there between the Zambales of these islands, and the Chinese? Are the former not, like the latter, rational beings? If then they agree in the chief thing, which is excellency, how do they differ so much in the manner of living? Why do some have an organized state, and others not?" And if this so brave people settle in communities and bind themselves with laws and government, they will in time lose that natural haughtiness and adopt different customs. For if animals incapable of reason are domesticated by human intercourse and lose their fierceness, men capable of reason will do it much more. The negroes furnish us with an example of this. Although they appear a race that seems the scum of the world – so wild[98] when they are brought, that they even appear more bestial than

[98] The original is *bozales*, which is a term applied to negroes lately imported, or to inhabitants of the less polished provinces of Spain, newly arrived in Madrid.

the beasts themselves – yet, after intercourse with a civilized people, they learn at last to act like human beings. Now how much better would the Indians of these islands do this, in whom has been found much capacity for whatever we have tried to teach them! Those only who are unwilling do not learn – through laziness, and because they see what little gain they derive from it. Who will doubt that some of them make excellent scribes, so that even the Castilians are children compared to them. Some are excellent singers, and there are choruses of musicians in Manila who would be notable in España. For one to become an excellent tailor, all that is needed is for him to see the work. They make very good carpenters; and this trade is not taught them, but they only have to see it. For in what pertains to *agibilibus*[99] they are better than we, for they are more phlegmatic. The Indian women have more capacity, and learn easily to use the needle, when they see it, thus they are more skilful than the Spanish women reared here; therefore the articles of handiwork that have been exported from these islands are numberless. And all these Indian women live where there are religious, which is quite different from the visitas, with which there is no comparison.[100] The women of the visitas tremble before a religious. When the religious talks to them in the church or elsewhere, they do not understand him. They are thoughtless beings, and seem

[99] Dative of *agibilis*, a late Latin word coined from *agere*; meaning "what can be done or accomplished."

[100] *Visitas* in the Philippines are the distant suburbs of a village. They generally have their chapel and patron saint, and the chapel is called *visita*. The term has been extended to the suburbs. Many of the *visitas* are distant from the mother village four or six hours by horse, along impassable roads which cause great annoyances to the parish priests.– Coco.

even more heedless than beasts. I shall prove this proposition. While I was visiting the Sibuyan Islands, I was trying to confess those people, who, although truly many of them were Christians, had never been confessed, perhaps because no more could be done with them. I performed all my duties in order to persuade a people so rustic and rude, and without sense, to make confession. At that time an honorable Spaniard, one Alonso de Barco, who was married to a native woman of Panay, went to those islands to collect his tributes. He was walking through the church court when I was hearing confessions. I had sent away one of the chief Indian women, because she did not pay attention or answer questions, and had told her to meditate thoroughly over her sins and return later. She went out and the Spaniard asked her if she had confessed. She replied that she had not, because the father had asked her how many feet a hog had, and she had been unable to answer me. The Spaniard laughed heartily, and, upon my coming out, told me about it. Whereupon I crossed myself many times, at seeing that the people were so thoughtless there, and that she should have understood me so ridiculously. Those who live where the father is stationed are not so, but even the little children come to the convent and are assembled. And in matters of the soul – the chief thing – they go to confession; and in truth I would rather confess a hundred Indians in the Filipinas, of those thus rendered fluent, than one Spaniard. The Indian women confess remarkably well, and with many tears, and take communion with devotion. They give account of themselves, respect the father, and recognize his courtesy. Who has not experienced this? The Span-

iards understand it all, but when an effort is made to settle the Indians in villages, all the Spaniards resist the religious as if the latter were taking something from their pockets. And surely, as I am advised, the greatest warfare that the devil wages against the ministry is by the hands of the Spaniards, so that all those who should favor this cause are opposed to it. Consequently, the religious tire themselves out, and the devil reaps what harvest he wills. All the evil is laid to our door, and the good the Spaniards attribute to themselves. If the Indian flees and the encomienda is deserted, it is the fault of the religious. But if it increases, it is due to the alcalde-mayor, the encomendero, and the collector. This is a thing so beyond reason, that truth itself cries out. If it were not for the protection of the religious, there would not now be an Indian, or any settlement. The Indians understand this fact very well, as will be seen by the statement of one of them.

The bishop of Nueva Segovia, Don Fray Pedro de Soria, collected those Indians together, by order of his Majesty, and told them of the advantages of the Spanish monarchy, and how beneficial it would be for them to have Don Felipe, the king of the Spaniards, as their king, who would protect them peacefully and with justice. The chiefs answered not a word to this. Thereupon, the bishop spoke again and asked them whether they had understood the words he had spoken to them, and if they would answer. Thereupon a clownish Indian arose and said: "We answer that we wish the king of España to be our king and sovereign, for he has sent Castilians to us, who are freeing us from the tyranny and domination of our chiefs, as well as fathers who aid us against the

same Castilians and protect us from them." Further, suppose that it were possible to make the religious withdraw, so that their ministries should cease; within a few days their lack would be bewailed, to the greatest extent possible. But this fact is true, that while one enjoys a blessing, it is not esteemed, nor is any thought given to a present virtue. However, let it be lacking, we feel that lack immediately, and we seek after it enviously. As says Horace: *virtutem incolumen odimus, sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.*[101] Spaniards may ask me: "Who has pacified the country? Who domesticated the Indians, so that one can go through the whole country with more safety than by the highways of España? For there neither the machine of justice, nor the severe punishments, nor the grave penalties secure any safety. Nor do the lofty houses, nor their tightly barred doors at all prevent the evils committed by the thief and murderer; for all is open to the execution of their desires. Here one sleeps with the door open, with entire safety, and just as if many legions of soldiers were watching it." And in fact, I do not recall ever having locked a door during my ministry.[102] I ask then, whence proceeds this except from the religious, who are gradually taming these peoples as fathers, and teaching them for temporal interests also? If there were no religious, how could the tributes be entirely col-

[101] Odes, book iv, 24, ll. 30, 31. William Coutts in his translation of Horace (New York and Bombay, 1898) renders this passage as follows: "We hate virtue when safe amongst us, but seek for it when removed from our eyes, envious alike."

[102] Still today [1893], thanks to God, one may sleep in the convents with doors unlocked, without the slightest fear. However, now they are generally locked in the province of Manila.—Coco.

lected? For the tributes seemed to be only what the chiefs chose to give, without its being possible by any severity to make them give more. This is proved, because in the encomienda of Dapitan, a district of Mindanao, although tribute was paid to Diego de Ledesma, son of one of the conquistadors, it amounted to nothing, all told being no more than the value of forty pesos. But at the end of one year after it was given to the fathers of the Society, tribute was collected from more than one thousand Indians. For, as we have, during the course of the year, made them resort [to church], the chief cannot afterward conceal any of them.

Truly, when I see the duties that we are performing, and at so great danger (for we are the object of the watchfulness and censure of the governors and all the people of the country), if we undertake to defend the Indians, they say that we are usurping the royal jurisdiction – just as if we were not serving his Majesty the king, our sovereign, with all our strength. If we make agreements with them as fathers, in order that their suits may not last ten years, they say that we are playing the justice. If we try to prevent offenses to the Lord, they say that we are interested in the matter. If we restrain the heavy trading, they say that it is to profit more. And truly, we might say that *spectaculum facti sumus mundi, angelis et hominibus.*[103] If love of God and our neighbor did not guide us, of a truth there would be opportunity for some one to say "*Pereat dies in qua natus sum, et nox in qua dictum est, 'conceptus est homo.'*"[104] For the accusations and misrepresentations in vogue concern-

[103] Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians iv, 9.– Coco.

[104] Job iii, 3.

ing the religious are innumerable.[105] I knew a venerable old man, by name Fray Juan de Villamayor,[106] whose head and beard contained not one single black hair. He was prior in Aclán, where some Spaniards of evil life then resided; and because he tried to put an end to the offenses to the Lord, one of the Spaniards defied him, and laying his hand upon his sword, said to him: "Come down here, my poor little father, and I shall tell you who you are." The religious answered him very humbly, and bade him farewell, saying that what he was doing was in the service of the community. He said that he would talk with him later, when he had recovered from his anger.

While father Fray Lúcas de la Reina, who was one of the foremost religious in the Bisayan province – a

[105] Much more might be said about these points, which Father Medina treats with as much skill as delicacy. . . . Not to go into certain details, wearisome beyond measure, I shall only say, that even now were it not for the direct intervention of the Spanish priest in the collection of the cedula or tribute, the treasury would lose some hundreds of thousands of pesos. Many are the parish priests, especially in the Bisayas, who oblige the heads of barangay to deliver at the convent the result of the collection; for if they did not do so, not one-half of what the town should furnish would be deposited in the royal treasury. While the writer of these lines was in a certain town of Iloílo a few years ago, the parish priest had in his convent the sum of 15,000 pesos, belonging to the collection of the tribute. He petitioned the corresponding authority for an armed force to conduct the revenues of the state safely to the royal treasury. That authority considered it suitable to answer him that it was not part of the duty of the military force to act as a custodian for the conveyance of the state revenue. . . .– Coco.

[106] Fray Juan de Villamayor took his vows in the Augustinian convent of Toledo, and was conventual and prior of Halaud in 1590 and 1593 respectively. He ministered at Aclán in 1596, at Jaro in 1598, at Sibucao in 1599, at Potól in 1603, and finally at Aclán, 1605-1608, where he died the latter year. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 38.

fine linguist, and one who added much to the sacristies, and was very discerning in things pertaining to the altar – was prior in the same village, he heard that a wretched mestizo woman in his district was leading a dissolute life; for on that occasion the encomendero Don Agustín Flores was there. This man came at the head of a number of blinded and unruly Spaniards. The religious had the woman seized and placed in a private house. A mestizo brother of hers grieved so sorely over this that, trusting in the favor of the encomendero, he tried to kill the religious. For while the said father was standing at the church door after the *Salve* on a Saturday, surrounded by Spaniards, the mestizo came in at one side, and struck at him with a dagger. The father warded it off, and protected himself from it with his hands, without a Spaniard offering to aid him. A lay brother, named Fray Andrés García,[107] was coming toward the convent; he was making a small flat-bottomed boat [*chatilla*] there for the house at Manila. He was truly a religious of great virtue and example. He had formerly been a soldier in Flandes and Italia, and was one of the chosen men sent to Ginebra [*i.e.*, Geneva] by Felipe IV, to carry despatches to the duke of Saboya [*i.e.*, Savoy], the king's brother-in-law, who was trying to take that rebellious city. As soon as father Fray Lúcas spied the brother, he cried out and begged for aid. Fray Andrés hastened to him, and although now a man well along in years, he had not forgotten the vigor of his youth. And in such manner did he comport himself, that those Castilians went away. The mestizo was punished, and the

[107] The lay brother Fray Andrés García was assistant for some years at the mission at Aclán. He died in 1623. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 75.

father was healed. The religious have suffered, and still suffer, innumerable things like the above, for making those Indians sincere Christians, for teaching them civilization, and for serving your Majesty in pacifying the country for you. Eight religious, who accompanied father Fray Andrés de Aguirre hither, began this work. Although that father returned to the Filipinas Islands simply to aid Ours in the work here, and to die in the country discovered by him, yet the province, finding that its affairs, past and present, were known to him, elected him provincial; he was therefore constrained to bend his shoulders to receive that load – which is not light, to one who knows it.

This chapter named many other places as priorates, which, although under administration, were only visited, and had been waiting until there should be religious [to place in charge of them]; as religious were obtained from time to time, the convents were being supplied – not only with those coming from España, but with those professing in Manila. For in this manner the natives could be ministered to more readily, and the religious would fulfil their duties better; and their responsibility was very heavy.

Religious were established in Pangasinán. I have referred to this before, and mentioned that this province is in possession of the most religious fathers of our father St. Dominic (who keep it in a very flourishing condition), by reason of the cession of it that we made. Finally it has many excellent convents, built by those who administer them so carefully.

Religious were established in the island of Bantayan, located between the island of Panay and that of

Sugbú, but farther from that of Panay. However, if one wishes to go to the island of Sugbú without sailing in the open sea, he may coast from islet to islet, although the distance across is not greater than one or one and one-half leguas. These Bantayan islets are numerous, and are all low and very small. The largest is the above-named one. When Ours acquired it, it had many inhabitants, all of very pleasing appearance, and tall and well-built. But now it is almost depopulated by the ceaseless invasions from Mindanao and Jológ.[108] We abandoned this convent (which had a thousand Indians) years ago, in order not to be changing from place to place. This island is the mother of fish,[109] and those that are caught in their season at these islets are innumerable. They are taken in boats among the islands. After we abandoned it, the island was given over to beneficed seculars. Although they have done their duty as zealous men, they have been unable to do more, because of being exposed to great risks. The above-named enemies have made great slaughter in these islands, and have taken even a greater number of captives. For these people have no abiding-place; and, however quickly the news arrives at Sugbú, when help comes the enemy has already left. For, although the distance across is not more than three or four leguas, and even two in parts, the help, as it must travel by sea, must go far – namely, twenty-five leguas. Lately, in the year 1628, men from Jológ did very great damage in that island. Admiral Don Cristóbal de Lugo was governing at Sugbú as lieutenant-governor. He

[108] The island of Bantayan (province of Cebú) has now a population of 18,325, all civilized. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[109] And of pearls.– Coco.

could have sent men, since he had news of the enemy in time. The chanter Juan Muñiscripo, beneficed clergyman of the island, and another secular (who had been expelled from the Society), by name Alonso de Campos, and six Spaniards – who, it is known, fulfilled their duty – were in the island. But finally, as they lacked all necessary ammunition, they had to retire and take to hiding, and seek new locations. By God's mercy they were not captured, but the people of the island who were captured and killed numbered more than one hundred and fifty. The attempt has been made to withdraw the Indians thence, and settle them on the mainland of Sugbú, which is more suitable in every respect; but the attempt has failed, for the Indians would rather die there than to have a thousand comforts elsewhere. These islands contain many cocoa-palms, but no water or rice. The water comes from wells, and is very bad. The incumbent of the benefice has now built a small fort; but I believe in my soul that, when the Indian catches sight of the enemy, he will abandon it instantly.

This island has a village called Hilingigay, which it is said was the source of all the Bisayan Indians who have peopled these shores, and whose language resembles that of Hilingigay. The Indians remember quite well when they were under our tutelage and teaching, and desire to return to it. For they assert that since we have left them they have not passed one good day. They talk in this vein because always the past was better. That benefice has now about four hundred Indians. They pay tribute to the king, and belong to the bishopric of Sugbú, being of its jurisdiction in secular matters as well. It is more than seventy leguas from Manila to Bantayan to the south.

The father provincial established religious in Jaro, on the coast of the island of Sugbú, a place at present called Carcar. It has in charge more than one thousand two hundred Indians. It has been visited at times from San Nicolás, and at others from the house of Nombre de Jesús of the Spaniards. But it seemed best at this time for it to have a prior with assistants, because of the conveniences which were found there, which are not few – and much more [are they to be considered] in the case of the ministry. It is about six leguas from the city of Nombre de Jesús, and more than twenty from the end of the district. The distance can be made in four hours, with the brisa.

The provincial established religious in Hantic [110] on the opposite coast of Panay. It was an excellent village. The holy martyr Melo [111] was prior of it. Now it is fallen back because we left it; and we have taken it once more. It has about three hundred In-

[110] Antique; in 1893 it was a province with twenty-one villages and a population of 119,322, under the charge of sixteen Augustinians.– Coco.

Its present population is 134,166, of whom 131,245 are civilized and 2,921 wild. The reports of population for several other years are as follows: 1818, 50,597; 1840, 48,333; 1850, 84,570; 1870, 108,855; 1887, 115,434. See Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) and *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*.

[111] Father Fray Nicolás Melo, or Moran, Portuguese by birth, and the lay-brother Fray Nicolás de San Agustín, a Japanese, were sent on an important commission to Europe in 1597. They went to Malacca, and thence to Goa – where, not finding facilities to embark, they determined to make the journey by land. They journeyed toward Persia, in company with other Augustinian religious, who were going to our missions in that empire. Thence they went to Moscow, where Father Melo comforted the persecuted Catholics (to whom he administered the holy sacraments), and tried to convert the Calvinist heretics, for which reason they were imprisoned and suffered penalties without number. When they reached Nisna, near the Caspian Sea, brother Fray Nicolás de San Agustín was beheaded on the thirtieth of November,

dians, and is a visita of Guimbal, which is one legua from Tigbauan, and more than fifty from Manila.

Resident religious were established in Aclán, on the island of Panay, on the coast that looks toward Manila, which is more than fifty leguas away. This is the best convent of the island. The provincial thought best to change it for another which is inland from the river of Panay, called Barbarán, a village of people possessed by the devil. The exchange was effected, and it happened that the secular who was there, died as soon as he reached Aclán, and that the first religious established in Barbarán also died very soon, the one being but little behind the other. I have never believed in this changing of districts, for since all are of Indians, the betterment is slight, while the damage suffered by the ministry, which is the chief thing, is vast. I omit to mention other and no less damages that exist, which are not for this place, as they do not concern us.

The father provincial established religious in Batangas, which is more than twenty leguas' distance from Manila. It has a stone church and house, although these are much dilapidated from the weather. It was a great district, but now it is much less be-

1611, for refusing to apostatize from the holy Catholic faith. Father Nicolás Melo was burned alive in Astrakán, together with Princess Bárbara Noski, a tertiary of our order, on the first of November, 1616.– Coco.

Father Melo was born of a noble family in Corinchán, Portugal. Going to Mexico at an early age, he took the Augustinian habit in the convent of Puebla de los Angeles, June 28, 1578. After becoming a priest he went to the Philippines, where he learned the Tagál and Bisayan tongues, and ministered at Aclán, Cagayancilo, Batangas, and Tanauan. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 27.

The lay-brother, Fray Nicolás de San Agustin, a Japanese, converted by the above, professed in the Manila convent in 1594. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

cause of the men drafted for Manila. It has about six hundred Indians as tributarios. Two religious live there generally. Service is performed in the Tagál tongue. We have mentioned this convent in our description of the lake of Bongbong or Taal, which is the nearest convent to Batangas, from which it is even distant only one day's journey; the road passes through certain most excellent meadows, resembling those of España, where one may rear an immense number of cattle. The Indians through all this district, which they call the Comintan, make use of domestic cattle on which they travel and carry their loads. The language used there is much like the Bisayan, for one can cross from this town of Batangas, which is located on a very beautiful bay, to the Bisayas with great ease during the brisas. This district belongs to the archbishopric of Manila.

Moreover, the provincial established a convent in Malolos. This place lies two leguas by land from Bulacán, and there is an excellent highway. From Manila it lies little less than one day's journey. This village has greatly decreased; it has about three hundred Indians. It is a priorate and has a vote, but has only one religious. It has a wooden house, and has never had one of stone.[112]

The father provincial established religious in Agonoy, where Tagál is spoken. It is on the way to Pampanga, on a branch of that river called Candaba.

[112] In 1893 Malolos had 14,635 inhabitants, without reckoning the villages of Barasoaín and Santa Isabel, with 9,442 and 7,174 inhabitants respectively. The three villages, especially Malolos, had at the above date beautiful churches and convents of solid masonry.– Coco.

The present civilized population of Malolos (see Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*) is 12,575; Barasoaín, 8,047; and of Santa Isabel, 6,403. The first named is the capital of Bulacán province.

It is a very large priorate, for it has more than one thousand rich and influential Indians. Three religious live there. It is quite near to Macabebe and Calumpit, for one can ascend to either place by the river in two hours. This town is not farther from Manila than one day's journey. A quantity of wine is made there from a tree that grows in its marshes, called palm or nipa. The house is wooden and very poor.[113]

Moreover, the father provincial established religious in México, a town of Pampanga. It receives its name from its great abundance of water. A great quantity of rice is produced there, and it has a fine plain. The house and church are of stone. It has about three hundred tributes.[114] It is a priorate and has a vote, and one or two religious generally live there. This town is quite exposed to the inroads of the Negrillos and Zambales, and there are continual misfortunes of murders, and it is quite common to find headless bodies in the field. It belongs to the archbishopric of Manila, and lies more than one day's journey from the city, either by sea or creek.

CHAPTER XXV

Of the great oppositions suffered by the province in that time

[However, in these early days, even, peace and quiet are not for the religious; and they find their

[113] Now (1893) the parish of Hagonoy has in charge 19,755 people, and has a very large stone church and convent.– Coco.

Its present civilized population (see Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*) is 21,304.

[114] This town had 16,867 inhabitants in 1893.– Coco.

It now has 13,469 civilized inhabitants according to the latest census. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

work hindered and even opposed by encomenderos and other Spaniards who work much evil against them, and turn the natives against them. Our author mentions certain cases, for the entire truth of which he vouches, which show the manner in which some Spaniards act.]

It happened while I was prior of Passi in the Bisayas, an encomienda belonging to his Majesty, that some Indians had been drafted from that district to man a fleet which was being built. Some of the poor wretches, on the return from the expedition, desirous of returning to their homes – seeing that after so long an absence they were detained for other private works, now by this Spaniard and now by that one, who seized them – fled. For the Indian acts without counsel, as he lacks understanding. Very often, after having worked one month, and when, within one or two days, they would be exchanged, they run away – thus giving occasion to seek and punish them, and losing their wages, and abandoning the axes with which they were working. It appeared to a gentleman who was chief commander and lieutenant-governor in Ylong-ylong, a port of Panay, an infringement of his rights that the Indians should flee. Therefore, he sent two soldiers to look for them, at the cost of the poor wretches. They came to the place where I was, and told me why they came. I replied to them that they could look for them immediately. They seized the governor,[115] and wandered for three days amid the hills and valleys, stupidly, as if the Indians would appear; for not only those Indians, but the peaceful ones had abandoned their houses, and fled to the

[115] *Pedáneo* or *gobernadorcillo*, as he is called in the country.– Coco.

mountains. They returned, worn out after three days, without a single Indian. The Spaniard who acted as leader put the wretched governor, holding in his hands his Majesty's rod of justice, in the stocks; and there he beat him at his pleasure, now with a club, and now with his dagger. Thereupon the Indian began to cry out so loudly that I heard his cries in the convent. As I was about to go down, his relatives with tears informed me of what was being done. I went alone to the government house, for my companion was on a visit, this being the eve of the feast of the Holy Spirit in 1623. I began to ascend and to reprimand the soldier and to tell him that he had no authority to put that governor in the stocks, nor to maltreat him. Then the soldier pointed his sword at my breast, and gave me a very impudent message from the commandant. Among other things, he told me that he would send for me and bind me with double shackles. I laughed, brushed aside the sword, went to the stocks, and took my Indian, all covered with his own blood, and so ill-used that even yet he knows no well day, but is constantly ailing and dispirited, and in a bed. Next morning, they took the governor away, saying that the commandant would condemn him to the galleys, as if he were the cause of the Indians fleeing. Fearful of the case, I went down the river, and talked with the commandant. After talking with him, he returned the Indian to me. Since then I have received innumerable favors from him there, which I shall not name, as they are not of interest. Nevertheless, the Indian spent more than six taels of gold, or more than forty granos, in the journey. Let this true account and fact be considered, and who serves his Majesty, who protects

the Indians, to what we religious are exposed, and what we endure in the fulfilment of our duties, and in the preservation of the country – which the Spaniards themselves are inciting to hostilities by such oppressions. The soldier was not commended, but neither did the commandant punish him. Within a short time he died, without his hopes being obtained, and as they are wont to die here. May God in His goodness have pity on his soul.

While I was prior in Santísimo Nombre de Jesús (the chief house of the province in the olden days), and while the chief commandant and lieutenant-governor was another gentleman whom I shall not name because of his influence, the latter struck a religious, whom I had there as the head preacher, between the eyes. In order to take away all opportunities for trouble, and that the commandant with his influence might cause none to the order – for whatever such an official wishes to do here, he does – I allowed the religious to go to the convent of Cárcar. It was necessary for this religious to go to San Nicolás, on that saint's day, to preach, and he did so. As soon as he arrived, clad in his black habit, in all the propriety of an Augustinian religious, he went to the house of the foremost man of the city, both in position and wealth, and his wife, who were regarded most highly by the people, one of whose children had been baptized by the religious. He requested this man to give him the little loaves that the latter had been asked to make. The commandant heard of his arrival, and immediately sent two soldiers and an adjutant to seize him, and drag him with them, although he had retired. The commandant had prepared a champan and shackles to send the religious to Manila. I was ad-

vised of his arrest. I set out and went to tell Bishop Don Fray Pedro de Arce, who was at that time in his house, of the matter. He went out in his chair, followed him to the city and we found the religious surrounded by soldiers, who immediately opened the door and went away. We went to the convent, where the bishop began to write. Two seculars, who defended this action, and by whose authority the commandant did this, prevented the commandant from being excommunicated. Finally, in a meeting of the orders, the commandant was declared excommunicated. But the governor of Filipinas, Don Juan Niño de Tábora, who should have punished the commandant, neglected to do so. In this he did not imitate Don Juan de Silva, who, when a similar case happened, summoned the alcalde-mayor who was in Ilocos, took from him his office, and deprived him of all rights, although he was pardoned by having had the express order of the bishop of that province. But what men neglect to punish the Lord does not forget to punish. He ordered a change of fortune after certain days, so that the same governor, Don Juan Niño de Tábora, did not like this gentleman. Accordingly, following the dictates of his conscience, he made the latter leave Manila, under pretext of going to pacify an encomienda that he had given him. Finally, things became so linked together, that the above-mentioned man took refuge in our convent, for he had not found a kindly reception in any other. There dispossessed of his encomienda, which had been taken from him, he suffered for one year, what that same gentleman knows; until that, with the arrival at these islands of the inspector Don Francisco de Rojas, he left the cloister – saying that he had not sinned against

king, governor, or state; but that, if he suffered, it was for his misconduct toward our order in Sugbú. I might write thousands of things concerning these events, where, as in the above, one might see the gain made by the religious, and at what cost to them, as said Christ: *Eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum.*[116] Consequently, I cannot quite understand how the Spaniards should desire us in these ministries, so that, by our attending to our obligations, they could take pleasure therein. This people whom we have in charge are rustic, uncivilized, lawless, and have no more system of action than the will of their chiefs. Now, then, how can these people become Christians, unless they are gathered together, and restrained; and if the religious, as fathers and masters, do not punish them? And if a father has the well-known jurisdiction over his son – and this jurisdiction is extended much more in the case of a master – why do we not have something for these two titles? For if the Indians have no fear or respect for the religious, of what advantage is our stay here? And how can we compel those already christianized to fulfil their duties, if the Indian feels that the father can not punish him? For they detest, as a rule, church matters – to such an extent, that they would even pay two tributes to be free from the church. They love their old beliefs and revelries so strongly that they would lose their souls for them. Without any fear, how would they attend to their duties? The extensive kingdom of China is more densely populated than any other that is known, and there is the greatest poverty among the common people, who are given to theft, murder, and innumerable other sins. Yet it is the most peace-

[116] Matthew x, 22.– Coco.

ful kingdom known and has no gallows or execution, but [they are restrained] by means only of their fear of the bamboo with which they are beaten. Now if the Indian lack this fear, who can bring him to reason? The Indians are daily growing worse, for they are losing fear. Daily utterances are made against the religious that they cannot punish them, and should not do it. This reacts against the Spaniards themselves, for, once aroused, the Indians will rebel when least expected; and they know already how to wield a sword and use an arquebus.

It is quite true that the religious do not mix in things of importance belonging to other tribunals, and the fathers provincial are careful to advise them on this matter; but the opposition to them in their ministry is the cause of the devil and his work. Some persons, under the pretext of piety, try to destroy the religious, saying that the Indians are free, and protected in their liberty, and that their liberty must not be taken away, but that they may wander as they will. For the aim of the fathers is to have the Indians live in villages. All this means harm to the Indian, for he is naturally lazy and a friend of sloth. If he is allowed, he wanders about aimlessly like a vagabond without working; and, at tribute-paying time, he has not the wherewithal to pay. He begs a loan of the tribute, and thus he becomes a slave. This would not happen, were he forced to perform the work from which he flees. Thus in not allowing him to become a vagabond, his own good is sought. We know well that there are constables in España who arrest and search out the idle. Is that contrary to the liberty in which we are born? Certainly not, for idleness is the mother of all the vices, as St. Greg-

ory insinuates, when he names it as the chief cause of the destruction of Sodom: *fuit iniquitas sororis tuæ superbia, abundantia et otium.*[117] Then, how can what is not opposed to liberty in España be opposed to liberty here in a country which rears so remarkable natives? Therefore for his own good much care must be taken of the Indian. What the Indian should be, he would become with the knowledge of the priors, so that they may make him settle down, and perform the work that is to make him a Christian, support him, pay his tribute, and make him a man of reason and judgment.[118]

Besides this war waged on us by the secular element, that which was most feared and dangerous, and caused the religious most anxiety, was the spiritual war. This arose from the zeal of the bishop of Manila, Don Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop of this city, a man of vast knowledge on all subjects, and who was not ignorant of the privileges of the mendicant orders in the administration of the natives.

[117] "The iniquity of thy sister was pride, abundance, and sloth."

[118] In regard to what is mentioned of the character and nature of the Indian, all the authors, native and foreign, whom I have read are unanimous in this, with the exception of Father Delgado, S.J., who for reasons unknown to me, although not difficult to infer, dissents from the others. See the attempt at refutation (!) which the above father, with more good will than success, has tried to make of the so well known letter of Father Gaspar de San Agustín – a letter which in my opinion should never have been published (as in fact it was published in the first volume of this "Biblioteca," p. 273, *et seq.*). No Spaniard or foreigner who has lived for some time in the islands and has had intercourse with the natives will agree with what Father Delgado asserts, but which is so opposed to the facts. To speak truly is not to offend, but to depart from the truth is injustice; and in the present case, he who writes thus would merit another epithet.– Coco.

The letter mentioned in the preceding paragraph will be published later in this series.

He was bishop in Manila, and thought that he ought not to allow the religious so much freedom in the office that they were administering. He tried to restrict them in many ways, and refused to concede much. The religious, however, did not do less than to answer by pointing to the bulls of the supreme pontiffs (called forth many times at the instance of the Catholic sovereigns of España), and other *motus proprios* – all made for the furtherance of good administration, and that the faith might be propagated throughout the new kingdoms of their domains. The bishop denied to the ministers everything pertaining to jurisdiction and power; for he imagined that we could not grant dispensation in that second degree for marriages, or exercise any judicial act of those which recently – that is, ordinarily – they exercise over the newly converted. This occasioned a great contention, and even scandal; for as the country was new, and there was no other learning than that of his Lordship – which doubtless was very great, and authorized by his dignity and person – and that of our fathers, some said "yes," and others "no," some that they could, others that they could not. Thus everything was in confusion, not only among Ours, but throughout the islands.

The father provincial was like a drowning man in this matter, and was obliged to give attention to so grave a necessity as the present. As he could devise no remedy here, he resolved to go to España, in order to settle the whole matter. The bishop, who wished only to do the proper thing, was glad of the voyage. He wrote some letters to religious of the province of Méjico, whom he thoroughly trusted and believed in. He set his doubts before them, and the

arguments on which he grounded his position, in order that the controversy might be settled amicably; and that the province of Méjico, as the mother of this province, might correct what his Lordship considered as excesses.

The father provincial left Manila and reached Nueva España. He left his vicar in the Filipinas, namely father Fray Francisco Manrique. He pursued his voyage, and reached España in safety, where he despatched his business very favorably – both in the Roman court, where Gregory XIII was governing the Church of God; and in the court of España, where he obtained very favorable decrees from his Majesty, Felipe II, our king and sovereign. The latter approved everything that our religious had done in the churches of those kingdoms and seigniories of his. He granted many other favors and gifts, so that they might prosecute the undertaking with greater resolution, and by the self-same methods that had been used theretofore. While these matters were being negotiated at court, the religious of this province,[119] conferring upon the articles upon which the bishop and Ours disagreed, wrote to the bishop letters of complete submission, in which they begged him to moderate his anger, and await the decision that would soon arrive from España with other decisions approving what had until then been done by the religious, and encouraging them to go forward in the defense of truth. The most learned Master Veracruz, as the father and protector of the ministry, and defense of the privileges held by the religious, wrote so learned a letter to the bishop, that it

[119] That is, the vicar-provincial and definitors, who governed the province.– Coco.

proved sufficient to calm him. Later, that letter served as a primer for the ministers, and a protection against the difficulties that arose. Of so much value has been the opinion of this great man, and of all his writings.[120] In conclusion, I will say that father Fray Andrés de Aguirre returned from España, whereupon those hurricanes which had been aroused were laid. But he reached Méjico so broken from the journey that he did not dare to go immediately to the Filipinas. However he sent the promised news of what had been enacted concerning it, which was given a glad reception. Thereupon, our fathers, like men who had reached land after a great and severe storm, commenced to breathe. They gave thanks to the Lord that He had not forgotten them. Thanks were given likewise to his Majesty Felipe II; for by so many favors and privileges they were able to prosecute the works that had been undertaken, and to place their shoulders to works much greater for his service. This was not alone for the good of the Augustinian order, but for that of all the other orders; for if one order suffered shipwreck, all must do the same, as all were in the same boat, directed by the same helm in the same direction, and under the same winds.

[Father Aguirre returned to the islands in 1593, where he was received with joy. He died as was his wish, in the islands "which he loved greatly, as he was one of the founders of that province."]

[120] This letter is given in full by Gaspar de San Agustín in his *Conquistas*, pp. 395-409.– Coco.

This was the father master, Fray Alonso de la Vera-Cruz, one of those in Mexico to whom the bishop wrote. See San Agustín, *ut supra*, p. 395.

CHAPTER XXVI

Of the chapter held in the Filipinas Islands, and, as will be told later, of the first election of our father Fray Diego de Alvarez.[121]

The year 1584 came, at which time father Fray Andrés de Aguirre had finished his term as provincial, as aforesaid; and the time had come to give the province, according to the orders and rulings of our regulations, a new head, who should take charge of the affairs of the province, both in spiritual and temporal matters, with new strength, and new energy and resolution. I do not deceive myself in comparing the action of the chapter to that of retiling; for they act as one who, when he perceives that his house is leaking, tries to remedy that by putting on new tiles, which oppose the rain and wind with new vigor and thoroughness, and keep the house free from leaks, which at the last would utterly ruin it. In the same manner, the superiors of the order, after the completion of their three years of service in the office, would beyond any doubt be tired and liable to yield more easily to any dispensation in the rigor of the observance, so that gradually the edifice would be undermined—as the Holy Ghost tells us, *qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet.*[122] Therefore in order to avoid such troubles, which are so full of peril to the order, our rules provide that new superiors be elected, who

[121] Fray Diego Alvarez was master of novices in the Manila convent in 1580, and minister at Taal in 1581, and at Bulacán in 1582. He was elected prior provincial in 1584, and definitor and minister at Taguig in the provincial chapter of 1587. In 1590 he took charge of the Manila priorate and was elected provincial for the second time in 1593. He died in the convent of San Pablo in Manila, in 1601. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 20.

[122] Ecclesiasticus xix, 1.

may carry out the rigor of our laws with new resolution, new zeal, and new force, and who should restore and suspend whatever time and opportunity has relaxed somewhat, taking away the opportunity for evil custom and abuses. Thus, desirous in this chapter of advance throughout the province, the capitular fathers set their eyes on father Fray Diego de Alvarez, a man of learning and judgment, and of blameless life. Of such a man did the province have need, so that with the quiet that it had already negotiated at the cost of the anxiety, care, and diligence of father Fray Andrés de Aguirre, the new provincial might continue what his predecessor had so happily commenced. Thus, then, the whole chapter having turned their attention to the good of the province, many things were settled in it; and the province began to spread, and new priorates were assigned from the visitas of the order (which were numerous and very widely scattered), so that by this means the Indians could be better instructed and greater care taken of them. The experience has shown us that they are a race with whom one cannot be neglectful; and if it were possible to assign one religious to each Indian, so that the latter might not lose sight of him, even this, I believe would be insufficient. For scarcely has one left them for any short space of time, when they return to their natural way of life – just like the bow which, when strung, is bent; but, when unstrung, at once straightens and regains its former position.

In this chapter religious were established in the village of Bantay, of the province of Ilocos, near the town of Fernandina, which now exists only in name.[123] It is fifty leguas from Manila. It has now

[123] The city of Vigan is not now [1893] in so poor a state

an excellent wooden house and church. It belongs to the bishopric of Cagayán, and the bishop of that province usually lives there. It has two resident religious, and has more than one thousand Indians in charge. The chapter placed a religious in the village of Purao,[124] the first village in the province of Ilocos after leaving the province of Pangasinán. This village belongs to the bishopric of Cagayán, and is a district of about one thousand Indians, although it is unhealthful. Two religious live there usually. It is fifty-four leguas from Manila. One can go to the province of Ilocos either by sea or by land, although the highway is very dangerous. One always goes with an escort of armed Indians, for many Zambales wander through those mountains, whence they descend to hunt heads. When there is no resistance offered by arquebuses, of which they are in deadly fear, they obtain heads very easily.

This chapter established religious in Vigan, or the village of Fernandina, near Bantay. There lives the bishop, to whom this town has been given for his dwelling, and so that he may place there what seculars he wishes. It is the best town in Ilocos, although it has suffered its setbacks from fires, which have caused much damage. The residence of the alcalde-mayor of this province is here. This province is

as Father Medina says. It is well inhabited, and presents a good appearance, having many stone edifices.– Coco.

It is the capital of the province of Ilocos Sur, and has a civilized population of 14,945 (See *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* and Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*) ; and from its position on the railroad from Manila it is a town of importance.

[124] Now [1893] called Balaoang, and with 8,260 inhabitants. – Coco.

Balaoang is now in the province of La Unión, and has a civilized population of 10,008. See *ut supra.*

better than all the others, because the Ilocans lead all the other Indians in being clean and neat, and in having large settlements. However, that is due to the earlier religious, who settled them in villages, and the people have remained settled so thoroughly. Had the like been done in the other provinces, the religious would not suffer so greatly. This province has thirteen priorates in all, only four of which, or rather five, have a vote.[125] The Indians are all Christians, and are the humblest and most tractable known. The entire province lies along the coast, and has fine rivers, which descend from the mountains. When the north winds blow, the province is considered very unhealthful. It produces rice in abundance, and all the native fruits, besides some of Castilla, such as oranges, grapes, figs, etc. The houses are all built of wood, and therefore liable to many fires, so that scarcely a year passes when some convent does not burn. Now they have begun to roof the houses with stone, that is, tile. This was begun by father Fray Francisco de Mercado,[126] who has often been prior of Ilaoag–which

[125] In 1893 the three provinces of La Unión and South and North Ilocos had, in the lowlands, forty-two villages with a total population of 349,205; and in the mountains fifteen missions in Abra, Lepanto, and Benguet, with a population of 43,044, or a total of 392,249. All were under charge of the Augustinians.–Coco.

Ilocos Norte now contains 178,995 (2,210 wild) inhabitants, Ilocos Sur, 187,411 (13,611 wild); and La Unión, 137,839 (10,050 wild). The province of Abra contains 51,860 (14,037 wild) inhabitants; Benguet, 22,745 (21,828 wild); and Lepanto-Bontoc, 72,750 (70,283 wild). See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[126] Fray Francisco Mercado took his vows in the Manila convent in 1611. He was a missionary at Laoag (1614, 1626, 1635) and Batác (1620, 1641), provisor of the bishop of Nueva Segovia (1623), and definitor (1632). He gave generous alms to the province from his own funds, showing special favor to the

has more than one thousand five hundred Indians – and at other times vicar-provincial of the same province.[127]

This province is considered to have a great advantage over the others; for when the Chinese arrive late, and cannot anchor or go to Manila, they enter some port or river of Ilocos. On that account this province is well supplied with necessaries, at very reasonable prices. Traders are wont to go there from Manila in order to buy, and then take their purchases to Manila with the north wind or brisa. Ships from Macán and India are accustomed also to anchor in these ports, this depending upon what time they come; and all this is of advantage to this district.

A great quantity of gold has been, and is, obtained from the province; not that the province yields it, but the Igorrotes bring it down from the mountains. They are light-complexioned Indians, but more unconquerable than what we have said of Zambales and Negrillos. When peaceful they bring down gold, which they extract there from their mines; and they exchange it for cattle, which those along the coast own. They trade also for abnormally large and completely white swine – never have I seen them of such size in España. They also take away blankets, which the people in Ilocos make of excellent quality,

convents of Guadalupe and Bantay. In the latter he acquired a fine estate, with the intention of building a hospital for the Ilocan friars; and at that convent he collected a good library, which was later removed to Manila. He died at Batác in 1642. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 194.

[127] "Ilaoag" is the capital of the province of Ilocos Norte and is today called Laoag. It has a civilized population of 34,454. See *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, and Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*.

from cotton, which is produced in abundance. But when the Igorrotes are hostile, the same is suffered as at Pampanga, and even more. For then those mountaineers come down to hunt heads, in which they take great pride. This is a remarkable inclination of all these Indians, for they are all bloodthirsty. Ours labored much in this province, as will be seen.

The father provincial established religious for the second time in the districts near Passi in Bisayas. We have said enough of this in its place, and I refer to that.

Likewise the fathers of the definitorio established resident fathers in Malate. This is only one short half-legua from Manila, and consists of but one street, along which are three parish churches. The first is Santiago [128] and is built of stone. It is excellent, and was ordered to be built by Don Juan de Silva, governor of these islands. All the Spaniards who live outside the city of Manila – who, I believe, number more than those who live within – attend this church. These Spaniards are all poor folk, and married to native, mestiza, or negro women. Many are sailors; and some are in the islands only temporarily, engaged in their petty trading, and because they can live more comfortably in this country, and there is less heat, as it is open and free. This suburb contains some stone houses, and some summer gardens. Farther on is Ermita, which ministers to Tagál Indians, who number about four hundred.[129] It

[128] It does not exist now. Its demolition was ordered by the general government, after Manila was evacuated by the English, who used it as a fort, as they likewise did the convent of the Recollects, in the siege of Manila in 1763.– Coco.

[129] Ermita has a present population of 12,246. It is the seat of the observatory of Manila, and of the normal school. See

has a stone church and the house of the beneficed priest. It belonged to us first; but some time ago it was given to the bishops of Manila, in order that they might have a house outside the city, where they might refresh and recreate themselves.[130] It is called Nuestra Señora de Guia. It has an image to which great devotion is paid. When the ships from Castilla fail to come, and are delayed, then they take out the image and carry it to the cathedral, and a novena is performed in order that the Virgin may bring these ships. Thus many times the ships have arrived at that time. At other times it has happened that, after the novena, they have no news of the vessels and they wish to return the Virgin, but the weather has been such that it was impossible; but at that time news of the vessels would arrive, which is the most joyful news for all the islands. For if the vessels fail to come, in even one year, all are left without help or shelter.[131]

Further on in the same street is this convent of ours at Malate. It has a stone church and house, sufficient for one religious, who lives there and has in charge two hundred Indians.[132] The image, "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios," has been highly reverenced.

Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*; and *U. S. Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, p. 189.

[130] Now [1893] this is in charge of the Recollects.– Coco.

[131] Spanish, *ni hay padre para hijo, ni hijo para padre* – "there is neither father for child, nor child for father."

[132] Now [1893] there are 1,805 inhabitants; and the village of Pineda, with 8,196 inhabitants, was separated from it. The Virgin de los Remedios [*i.e.*, "of the remedies"] is still highly reverenced. – Coco.

Malate has now (see Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*) a population of 8,855.

All the Indians of these towns are traders, and their chief source of wealth is in the voyages to Cavite. For there, at any time, they find a boat all ready, which takes them to Cavite in a very short time. Very rarely is any of these boats ever lost; for the Indians understand them perfectly, and are wont to venture on the sea even with the waves running sky-high.

Religious were established in Tanauan, situated in the lake of Taal. It was a very fine town, rich and densely populated, but now it is thoroughly impoverished. It has a wooden house and church, and Ours minister to about seven hundred Indians.[133] The people are Tagáls. As one goes thither from Manila, he descends a truly frightful hill for more than one legua. The convent lies on the lake shore, and on the brow of the same land or slope. Tanauan lies eleven or twelve leguas from Manila, and belongs to the latter's bishopric. In it is Comintan, where many cotton hose are made. The inhabitants are healthier and more clever than the others. Champans (which are Sangley boats) enter this lake through the Taal River, by which the lake empties into the sea; for the Chinese go everywhere, and there is no islet, however devoid of profit it be, where they do not go. If they can obtain nothing else at any islet they get wood; and if that is lacking, yet they find on the coast material from which they make lime. This they take to Manila, and it is not the least expensive thing.

A convent and religious were established in Lipa, which is located on this lake, four leguas from the convent of Tanauan, of which I have just spoken.

[133] In 1893 Tanauan had a fine stone church with three naves and a convent.– Coco.

See *ante*, note 58.

This convent has at present about four hundred Indians. It has one religious, and the place formerly was densely populated. But already I have mentioned how this lake region has retrograded. Many Indians have been taken thence to Cavite, and but very few return; for they remain in that neighborhood, fleeing from work. There are a very fine new house and church there, which are built of wood and better than those of Tanauan.

Religious were established in San Pablo in the mountains,[134] which is fourteen leguas from Manila by way of Laguna de Bay – ten to the Bay, and four to this convent. It was nothing until father Fray Hernando Cabrera [135] – of the province of Andalucía, and a son of the house at Córdova – went there, who was prior in that convent for many years. Although neither its house nor its church is of stone, yet they are of wood, and the best and finest in the province – particularly the church, with its reredoses and paintings of the saints of the order, so handsomely made that there is nothing finer in the islands. It is feared, and with good reason, that since it is built of wood, it will last but a short time, and that all that expense and beauty will be wasted. The Indians were settled as if they were Spaniards, and their village was laid out with its squares and so excellent houses that it was good only to behold it. But as soon as the father

[134] The Order ceded it to the Franciscans.– Coco.

[135] Fray Hernando Cabrera took his vows at Córdova in 1601. Upon going to the Philippines he filled the following positions: sub-prior at Manila, 1609; missionary at Batangas, 1611; at Taal, 1613; at Parañaque, 1614; at San Pablo de los Montes, 1618, 1626, and 1629, where his efforts resulted in an excellent and well equipped church and convent; definitor, examiner, and definitor-general. He died at sea in 1630, while on his way to Nueva España. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 78, 79.

left there, all that order vanished; for all which does not tend to keep the Indians in their fields and in the mountains makes them dissatisfied. The father established so good a stock farm that the Manila convent had to go there, and obtain from it five hundred head of cattle; these were placed on the old stock farm, which no longer had any cattle. He adorned the sacristy of the said village with so much silver that no cathedral in España had an equal amount, for it had abundance of every kind. As soon as this religious left there, the convent of Manila took a notable ornament from it, which cost it more than eight hundred granos. With this the house at Manila is adorned during the most solemn feasts, both within and without the house. The father did many things in other places, until his death at sea, during a voyage to España in 1629. The province will always mourn the death of this religious, for, besides his having done most to increase it, he was the best Tagál interpreter. This, together with his exceeding great renown in secular affairs, and his not less observance in matters affecting his order, was a quality that would make him esteemed in any community. He left this province to go to take shelter in España. There was no provincial who would restrain him; for of these religious there are some who had to be restrained, since out of many crews not many men excel. He died at sea; and it was well understood that God did not choose to leave him here, but without doubt would take him to give him the reward of his many labors and of his devotion. This convent has more than one thousand Indians, and three religious – a very small number. Sometimes there are two religious, the number depending upon the poverty or ease

of the time. A quantity of fruit grows in this place. The water is bad, and therefore the religious are looking for better. Cattle draw the fruit from here to Bay, where small Sangley and Japanese champans are found. These buy the fruit to resell it in Manila; for all the fruit and buyo used in the city of Manila comes from this Laguna, as I believe I have already mentioned. Amid these heights are many fresh-water lakes, and others of salt water, one-half legua in circuit or more. Others are less, but so deep that bottom cannot be found. They are secrets of the Author of nature.

CHAPTER XXVII

Which treats of the chapter of this province in which father Fray Diego Muñóz [136] *was elected*

In the year 1587, the chapter was held in Manila. It was the first one held according to the new rules received and ordered to be observed in the general chapter held at Rome in 1581, when our very reverend Tadeo Perusino, a man of great learning, notable for his sanctity, and one of great skill in the government and management of grave matters (as was de-

[136] Fray Diego Muñóz was born in the town of Zafra, of the province of Badajoz, and took his vows in the Augustinian convent of Mexico in 1571. He was renowned for both his learning and his virtues, and on his arrival at the Philippines in 1578 was given the chair of sacred theology in the convent of San Pablo at Manila. He was the first commissary of the Holy Inquisition in the islands; missionary at Pásig and Malolos in 1580 and 1584 respectively, and of the Tondo Sangleys in 1581; definitor in 1584; provincial in 1587, when it was necessary to obtain dispensation from Rome, as he had not reached the required age. During his term as provincial the regulations of the order were received, and the present Manila convent begun. He died in 1594, leaving sermons in Castilian and Tagál, one volume each. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 22.

clared by his Excellency Cardinal Jacobo Sabelio, on this same occasion), was elected [general of the order] for the second time. This work [*i.e.*, the new rules] had been commenced in 1575 at another general chapter, at which this illustrious man was elected also. There all the provinces warned him of the need for rules, for they had very few or none, and that, therefore, he should ordain in this respect what he should consider most advisable; and that they should order them to be printed. They also declared that it was necessary to correct them, and make them conform with the holy canons of the Council of Trent, and with certain new determinations and rules of the most holy pontiffs, adding various other things in harmony with the times, for with time everything changes. The chapter having referred this matter to our most reverend father, his Paternity consulted all the father provincials and learned men of all the provinces, and finished the work with so great success that it was quite concluded and approved by the year 1580, by the assistance therein of his Excellency Cardinal Jacobo Sabelio, most beneficent protector of our holy order. The latter presented these rules to his Holiness Gregory XIII, so that he might amend and correct them as our supreme head and shepherd. His Holiness committed them to two most erudite cardinals, Alciato and Justiniano – the first doctor in both laws, and the second a very great theologian, who had governed the order of our father St. Dominic most worthily as its general. These illustrious men having examined and approved them, his Holiness deigned to bless them; and, as I think, that means that he approved them without adding to them greater force than they possessed, as they are the orders of

our general chapters. That is the ceremony that his Holiness is wont to display with provincial councils. Hence they are authorized, but with no greater force than that given them by the Council. For if he would positively approve the rules and order them to be observed, then they would have the force of apostolic rules. The fifth part of the said rules, which treats of degrees, was not received by the Spanish provinces, who dissembled with it. The generals have heard that, and not only have they not said anything about it, but have even neglected it, so that the fifth part is now not binding.

In what pertains to the visitors, they are elected in the province, and have a vote in the provincial and intermediary chapters. But our most reverend father generals have dispensed with their making visits the third year, on account of the inconveniences that have been found to result from the visit.

Therefore, according to these new rules, the fathers assembled in the Manila convent, and cast their votes for father Fray Diego Muñóz, although he had not reached the age of thirty years. That was a sufficient argument for his ability, since his so great lack of years was dispensed with, and since a province which was founded with so great devotion chose to select a man so young. But in truth, he was a person of so excellent erudition and rare virtue that that dignity was the least thing that he merited. His election was very well-received, and his person was judged to be very suitable for the office. He was a son of the house of Méjico; and that fortunate house has been one of great learning and virtue, as is proved by its numberless illustrious sons who have gone forth from it.

He came to the islands at the completion of his

studies, eager for the salvation of souls, and thinking that there were many laborers for Nueva España and a lack of them for these islands. In the islands, he so conducted himself, during the period of his residence in them, that he was always ascending to higher planes, until he became provincial. In that office he showed himself no less devoted than previously to whatever arose for the welfare of his order, which was not little. Nor did he show a halting courage in it, as will be told in due season. He was commissary of the Holy Office in the islands, which he administered with the greatest of prudence and wisdom, and not less to the satisfaction of the inquisitors.

He, also, added to the luster of the province by founding new convents. Among them was that of Apalit, in Pampanga. Apalit is located on the river of Candaba (of which we have before spoken), very near to Macabebe. It had many Indians formerly, but now it has very few, scarcely three hundred, I believe.[137] This house has no vote. One religious, who is sufficient, generally lives there; he can confess himself at the many convents near by, reached both by water and by land.

At this time Father Quiñones,[138] a son of the house

[137] The last census before 1893 gave Apalit 11,563 inhabitants. – Coco.

Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) shows the present civilized population to be 12,206.

[138] Fray Juan Quiñones was born at Sevilla about 1551 of a noble family. He studied in the university of Mexico, and took the habit in that city in 1575. He went to the Philippines in 1577, where he threw himself fervently into the missionary work. In 1578 he was named minister to Bay and extended his efforts to Taal and Pásig. He was definitor in 1581 and 1587; prior of Manila in 1586, and vicar-provincial in 1587, dying that same year at the convent of San Pablo in Manila. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 19.

at Méjico, died among the Tagáls. The Indians cannot forget his life, for his penances and mortifications were great, and he is commonly regarded as a saint. He worked hard in his ministry, and gave the Indians excellent instruction. He compiled a grammar and lexicon of the Tagál language, and he was the first one to give the rules of the Tagál mode of speech, so that the mysteries of our redemption could be declared better to the Indians by one talking their language perfectly. He was learned, and graduated in both laws; but he did not preach because of an impediment in his speech, which was somewhat stammering. . . .

[It is related that what was considered his body was found in 1634[139] to be in perfect preservation. Father Muñóz died while still a young man.]

CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the election of our father Fray Juan de Valderrama

When the time for the election came, namely, May 22, 1590, all the capitulars, who were now coming from all parts, assembled. They came from the Bisayas in their caracoas, and from Ilocos, some by land and some by sea, for the election. Those among the Tagáls and in Pampanga were living nearer, and accordingly, without being absent over Lent from their missions, they came at the critical moment and entered Manila at the time set by our rules. Finally,

[139] This is the date of the text, and if true, the date of the title-page (1630) must be either a misprint or an equivocation on the part of the author. Or this instance and the several others similar to it may have been added by Medina to his manuscript after he had completed it to the date of the title-page; or they may be due to a later hand.

all assembled, and considered and consulted in regard to the person most suitable, in their opinion, for the good and welfare of the province. That, to my way of thinking, is what the religious always take by the horns, as men who place the common welfare before the spiritual (or rather, private) good. Finally, they thought that father Fray Juan de Henao (or rather, Valderrama) was the man most suitable for that occasion. Accordingly, they elected him, and his election was a most fortunate event, for he was very religious and very devoted to his institution. Hence he governed with great prudence and devotion.

During his term some new priorates were established, which seemed advisable for the good government and administration of the Indians. Among them was that of Arayat, located in the farthest corner of Pampanga. It had a goodly population at the beginning, but now the population has dwindled to less than one hundred Indians;[140] for on one side the Zambales, and on the other the conscriptions, have been consuming them, as is seen at present in other districts. He also established religious and visited the provinces very carefully, and provided in all things quite in accordance with the obligation of our calling.

At this time happened a wonderful miracle in the province of Ilocos, whose memory endures unto today. It was as follows. Among the religious who were going to Filipinas quite ordinarily, in great numbers, went father Fray Pedro de la Cruz,[141] to

[140] In 1893 there were 12,858 inhabitants.– Coco.

The present civilized population of Aráyat is 12,904. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[141] Information regarding this father is very slight. He was admitted as confessor to the Spaniards, as appears by an Augus-

whom our Lord gave much of His spirit, and who was called commonly " the Apostle of the Filipinas;" and for him the Lord worked many wonderful miracles. The province of Pangasinan – which as we said above we gave to the religious fathers of our father St. Dominic (perhaps from this fact, the latter have taken occasion to write that he was their religious; but the trick matters not; only it is not right to take him from those to whom he belongs, for the stones which shine with more luster in religion are those in whom our Lord shows more of His piety and mercy) – fell to this religious and holy man. This servant of God, then, being in a village of that province called Bagnotan, saw an Indian woman carrying a baby, to whom she had but recently given birth. The religious was doubtless moved by the spirit of heaven in his question. The Indian woman answered that she was taking the baby to bury it alive, for it had been born blind. When he asked her for her reason, she said that they had the custom of immediately burying alive any child born who was incapable of serving its parents, for in such case the latter had no interest or hope in its living. For it was an arduous task to give them being, to bear them in travail, to rear them through childhood and support them all their lives, since such children could not requite so many benefits. No arguments availed to persuade the Indian woman of the contrary, until the holy man made an agreement with her, namely, that she should give him the child, and that he would rear her and support her as his own daughter. With this agreement, the

tinian record of November 12, 1602, after having been examined, and having presented his licenses to confess, which had been given him in Goa. In 1604, he returned to be approved. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 185.

mother gave the child to Father Pedro de la Cruz, and he entered his convent with his new daughter. He got a woman to nurse her at the price of four reals per month, and then with his right as father, set about baptizing her. He did so, and it was our Lord's pleasure, for the credit of His servant, the value of holy baptism, and His own glory, and likewise so that that devilish custom should cease, that, as soon as the infant received the water of holy baptism, she gained her sight, although she had indeed been born blind. . . .

CHAPTER XXIX

Of the second election of our father Fray Diego Alvarez

Father Fray Diego de Alvarez left so good an estimation of himself during the three years of his service as provincial, and governed with so great prudence, that so great a desire for his rule was aroused that, upon the arrival of the time assigned by our rules, the fathers did not wish to make any new trials of conditions which, although in appearance good, afterwards are found deceitful. They had had experience of the prudence of father Fray Diego Alvarez, and accordingly reëlected him so that they might enjoy him for the second time; for in truth he had been a father to them. Hence he was elected unanimously, May 6, 1593. His election was very favorably received in the islands, for he was always much loved by his own and by others; and he always showed great judgment, preserving the province during his two trienniums in that flower and rigor of devotion which it had at first, and also glorifying the

province with the new inauguration of houses and convents.

He established a religious in Pototan, a village then ruined;[142] and that village, as it was so small, was united, above Suagui, with another called Baong.[143] Accordingly, a church was built there. This convent of Baong had more than one thousand Indians, and was a well-known place for recreation; but now, although it endures, it has but six hundred Indians. As it is remote from trade, and situated inland, residence there is regarded as exile. It is one day's journey from Dumangás, and its river empties into that of Alaguer.

This chapter also established religious in Sibucao, a matter of one legua from the Suagui River, up the river Alaguer. The road also turned from Dumangás by ascending the river, although by land the journey is shorter. This convent was very well located here, for, in short, it is within sight of so gloomy[144] a river, and very convenient for the religious. Afterward the fathers thought that they were acting wisely in moving the convent one-half day's journey inland to a village called Laglag, very inconvenient for the religious. But indeed it is apparent how the fathers of former days sought rather the comfort of the natives than their own convenience; accordingly, wherever

[142] In 1893, one of the best towns in Iloílo, with a population of 15,842.– Coco.

Bulletin No. 1 (*ut supra*) gives the civilized population for 1903 as 20,964.

[143] Now Dingle, and not connected with Pototan. It has a population of 9,769.– Coco.

Also in Iloílo province and with a present civilized population of 12,129. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra*.

[144] Spanish, *lamentado*; thus in printed text, but this word seems of dubious accuracy.

they found the most people, there they went. This convent has more than one thousand Indians, and two religious live there ordinarily. It is one of the good convents of the province of Bisayas, and has a wooden church.[145]

The bishop of Sugbú, Don Fráy Pedro de Agurto, bestowed the district of Salog upon the province, as I have said before. It is very near the port and fort of Ilong-ilong. It is an excellent port, and has now been improved through becoming the property of his Majesty. This convent has more than one thousand Indians in charge, and generally has two religious. Its chief center is on the coast, or rather, near the coast, on a fine river, and its visitas are inland.

Religious were established also in the village of Octóng, one of the chief villages of the Bisayas. That convent has a vote, and is in charge of more than one thousand two hundred Indians.[146] It is one-eighth legua from the village of Arévalo. This village was well inhabited, and the people spread along that coast. The Dutch burned it once, as well as the convents of Salog and Tigbauan; but it was rebuilt, better than ever. In regard to the people along the coast, they have diminished greatly, for the ravages [of pirates] on that coast are frightful. I cannot understand how

[145] It now has [1893] a beautiful stone church, and a population of 5,281. Its modern name is Dueñas.– Coco.

Also situated in the province of Iloílo, with a present civilized population of 6,700. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[146] This is a very important town in Iloílo. In 1893 it had 15,151 inhabitants. It had a beautiful stone church, built very high, and in the form of a Greek cross, crowned with a fine cupola.– Coco.

Its present civilized population is 14,464. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

the Indians can endure so much, for they have too much toil – now with the little fleet that defends their coast, now with the ships sent to Ternate, whose boats are laded and provisioned in that port. Two religious live in that convent, which is adorned with considerable silver and many ornaments. The people are intelligent, as they are reared with Castilians. The convent is situated in the Sugbú bishopric.

Religious were established in Potol,[147] the first point on Panay Island coming from Manila. That convent enjoys an exceedingly large stipend, for its jurisdiction extends very far. It has as visitas the five islands mentioned previously, and all those coasts. Thus it had more than two thousand Indians. Later, fleeing from their enemies, more came to the island, four leguas up the river of Ibahay. The river is so long that it has an ascent of as many more leguas. This was my first priorate in 1611, when it was yet good. That year came three severe hurricanes – called *báguios* – which ruined the country, and laid low the church and house, which was very large and fine. I rebuilt it. Afterward our Father Barona[148] exchanged it for that of Tigbauan. The bishop of Sugbú made two benefices of that district, and two beneficiaries reside there at present. But the natives always remember the first religious that they had, for

[147] Ibahay in the district of Aclán, of Cápiz Province.– Coco.

[148] This is Fray Alonso Baraona, a native of Quintanario, in the province of Burgos. He took his vows in the convent of that city in 1596. He became prior of Santo Niño in 1607, and was missionary at Dumangás in 1608, Batan in 1609, Jaro in 1610, Aclán in 1613, and Passi in 1614. He was definitor and prior provincial in 1617, and missionary at Bay in 1623. His death occurred in 1626. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 77.

what is known first is liked more – but not because they have ceased to be tended with good devotion.

During this three years, priorates were established in many convents in Ilocos, as in that of Tagudin. That convent suffers greatly from the Igorrotes, and on that account is almost depopulated.[149] A priorate was established in Candón, an important priorate of that province and the best, although without a vote. It ministers to more than one thousand five hundred Indians.[150] Another was established in Nalbacán, a priorate with a vote, although it has been greatly exhausted by the burning of the church and convent. Batac also is an excellent priorate, and now is one of those that have a vote and are more esteemed. Resident religious were established in Dinglao,[151] which is an excellent vicariate. Religious were placed in Bauang. All these convents belong to the bishopric of Nueva Segovia or Cagayán, as above stated.

In the island of Manila, that is, in the archbishopric of Manila, religious were established, in Caruyan and Quingua. Now these last two are vicariates, and do not have one thousand Indians.

[149] In 1893 it had 7,623 inhabitants.– Coco.
The civilized population in 1903 was 8,503. It is in the province of Ilocos Sur. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[150] In 1893, a parish chart showed 12,180 inhabitants.– Coco.
Also in Ilocos Sur, and with a civilized population of 18,828. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

[151] Dingras with 11,113 inhabitants in 1893.– Coco.
The present civilized population is 15,792. This village is situated in the province of Ilocos Norte. Narvacán (the Nalbacán of the text), in Ilocos Sur, has a present civilized population of 19,575. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

The religious living in them can scarcely support himself.[152]

(*To be concluded.*)

[152] Caruya or Caruyan, now Bigaa, was in 1893 a parish, as was also Quingua, in the province of Bulacán. They had populations in 1893 of 7,108 and 7,787 respectively, and good stone churches and convents.—Coco.

These two villages have present civilized populations of 8,000 and 7,229, respectively. See Bulletin No. 1, *ut supra.*

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